

IN THESE TIMES

Bobby Deerfield
Page 23



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Nov. 9-15, 1977

40 Cents



UAW Solidarity Photo

For seven months, 222 members of United Auto Workers Local 1663 have confronted armed private security guards, sheriff's deputies and state police. They have battled strikebreakers with fists, rocks, clubs and abusive language. They have been shot at, beaten, rammed by cars and trucks, assaulted in their homes, arrested and threatened with worse. They are still on strike. **Page 12.**

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Chavez in trouble?

UFW loses key election, Chavez Philippine visit sparks protest. Page 3.

Arizonans accused of torturing Mexicans

Aquittal brings protest and boycott from Mexicans across the border. Page 5.

Israel's Begin gets a boost

Yadin's Democratic Movement joins the government; sign of Labor demise. Page 9.

Russell's Valentino takes on Hollywood

Portrait of Hollywood in the '20s sheds new light on industry. Page 23.

THE INSIDE STORY

Guest column by Alan Wolfe



Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Joseph Califano (above) is responsible for creating a new health plan. He called on Alain Enthoven to produce a draft.

Carter views ex-whiz kid's health plan

Candidate Carter said it well it April 1976: "We must have a comprehensive program of national health insurance." But his motives for saying so were mixed.

Just about every capitalist country in the world, save the U.S., recognizes the need to protect its citizens against the individual burden of medical costs. Carter can score points for humanity and compassion by sponsoring the creation of a national health insurance system.

But Carter clearly has another motive. Medicare and Medicaid have produced something close to disaster. Costs have skyrocketed because government has subsidized more expensive services, reimbursed hospitals for their inefficiency, and guaranteed higher payments to insurance companies. Medicare outlays, as a result, increased by close to 50 percent from fiscal year 1976 to fiscal year 1978. Unless reformed, the inflationary dynamics built into medicare threaten to overwhelm the federal budget.

It will be the task of Secretary of Health, Education,

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and Welfare Joseph Califano to propose a new health insurance system that is humane, financially feasible, and politically acceptable. Such a task is close to impossible, since any plan that benefits the poor will require extensive governmental intervention into the "free" medical market, while any plan that seeks to keep government's role to a minimum will barely confront social inequities. To resolve this puzzle, Califano has turned to "the best and the brightest." Men who once puzzled over producing a stronger national defense for less money are being asked to provide a strategy to deliver more medical care at a lower cost.

Consumer choice.

One of Califano's key helpers in this quest is Alain Enthoven, former Asst. Sec. of Defense and now a professor at Stanford. Enthoven typified the McNamara "whiz kids," bringing techniques like systems analysis to the Pentagon.

Enthoven has a new crusade now. A leading advocate of the principle that government's role in social welfare should be to encourage the market to bring about the cost effectiveness that neither government nor monopolies can achieve, he is now arguing that health care resources should be determined by consumer choice.

At Califano's request, Enthoven has prepared a comprehensive blueprint for a national health insurance system. Dated Sept. 22, 1977, the plan calls for the creation of a "Consumer Choice Health Plan" (CCHP). Since the plan was written in close collaboration with HEW, including assistance from the office of the Asst. Sec. for Planning and Evaluation, it deserves scrutiny. Carter's eventual proposals can hardly help but be influenced by this document.

Enthoven's plan contains several drastic features. One is an attack on fee for service, the system under which physicians charge individual fees for the work they do. Fee for service, many left health experts argue, creates a perverse incentive for higher costs, since the more the doctor does, the more he or she gets paid. Unnecessary medical care is the most frequent result.

Enthoven would try to undermine fee for service by encouraging the formation of many pre-paid group health plans. The government would facilitate enrollment in these plans, subsidize poor people who would have trouble paying, and require that health providers compete with each other for customers.

In theory, he argues, medical consumers would flock away from fee for service because they would realize what a better deal could be obtained from the pre-paid plans. Competition among the group health plans would preserve efficiency by removing perverse incentives. The private nature of the system would keep down costs, not arousing tax-payer wrath. And finally, providing vouchers would enable the poor to participate and therefore encourage equity. Enthoven argues that his plan meets all the goals a national health insurance system could be expected to meet.

Important perversities.

It may also meet none of them. Enthoven seems to overlook important perversities that are bound to occur when health care—which he calls a "product" with a "subtle, elusive, and indeed almost indefinable" nature—is made a commodity like washing machines.

First of all, it is doubtful that CCHP would eliminate fee for service. If it does not, physicians, wrapping themselves in their expertise, will still play on fear of catastrophic illness to encourage needless work. So long as doctors stand to profit from their recommendations, consumers will be helpless in choosing carefully among alternatives. If it does eliminate fee for service, it may still reduce over-all prices no more than the present

"competition" between individual physicians reduces prices. And it can, ironically, discourage doctors from undertaking necessary care in order to lower their costs of production and increase their profits.

Secondly, insofar as pre-paid group health insurance plans would be expanded, their growth would encourage tendencies toward concentration and complex bureaucracy. Systems like the Kaiser Plan in California work best when they apply to large numbers of potential customers, like all the employees of the state of California. It is significant that Enthoven bases his plan on the Federal Employees Health Benefits Program, since that covers more employees than any other system in the U.S.

For workers in government or for employees of monopolistic firms, CCHP might work. But everyone else would be encouraged either to work for a large organization or to join a program that had close ties to one. And since the competing health plans would be in part subsidized by government funds and employer contributions, large corporations can be expected to buy into them.

When they become a place of investment, corporate concerns about profitability will begin to take precedence over questions of health care equity. Enthoven himself envisions that his plan would result in "fewer hospital jobs, more employer resistance to wage demands, and hospital closings."

Third, competition among health care deliverers would surely lead to advertising for medical services. While there are many who favor advertising as a way of bringing down price, what happens is that advertising inevitably brings down quality and raises prices. If people choose medical services like they choose cars, presumably that is their right, but surely a more sensible system would seek to maximize information rather than distort it, as advertising so often does.

Wrong plan, right enemies.

Finally, CCHP would tend to exacerbate inequities rather than soften them. Vouchers, tax credits, and rebates for the poor simply do not get to the roots of class injustice. Money may be given to the poor to spend on health care as they wish, but if inner city deliverers are encouraged to continue as presently constituted, the resulting rip-offs are all too easy to contemplate.

Equity is of dubious practicality anyway, as Enthoven finally confesses: "The equity of CCHP ought to be compared with where we are today and where we are likely to go as a society. It is useless to compare it to some hypothetical egalitarian ideal that has never been attained in any society and is surely not supported by the American people today." Such a declaration is bureaucratic code language conveying the clear message that, in the by now famous words of President Carter, "life is unfair."

The muddle that this nation has made of medical insurance is so mystifying that almost any reform is to be preferred. CCHP will be attractive simply because it is new and it offers a way out of the impasse. Its undermining of fee for service and the hospital-Blue Cross industrial alliance will guarantee that it will have the "right" enemies, giving it a superficial progressive appearance. But to pose plans like CCHP as the "liberal" alternative to the vested interests of the AMA is, in ironic fashion, to reproduce the situation that Enthoven's plan would bring about.

It would be a choice, to be sure, but only between equally unfair alternatives. Reform of the health care system, and of the insurance network that supports it, is essential, but proposals like this, if adopted, would make us long for the days when medical care was not distributed like Kentucky Fried Chicken.

This article was written with the close collaboration and encouragement of Diana Dutton.

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Chavez under fire, Farm Workers stalmated



At a time when the UFW is still reeling from defeats in the fields, Chavez is also under attack for cozying up to Ferdinand Marcos, (above), Philippine autocrat.

By Sam Kushner
These are critical times for Cesar Chavez and his United Farm Workers Union, and some of the union's major difficulties at this time are of its own making.

At a time when it appeared that the UFW would have clear sailing with the Teamsters union no longer in contention for representation of agricultural laborers, Chavez' organization appears to be stalemated. More significantly, it appears to have lost support among religious and other organizations that have backed it for well over a decade.

Organizationally, the UFW is reeling from its largest loss in recent times. At the end of September the workers at Giumarra Vineyards, largest grape growing company in California, dealt the UFW a blow when they voted overwhelmingly for no union. The UFW was chosen by 673 workers while 900 cast their ballots for no union. There were 172 challenged ballots and 21 were void. The UFW has already filed unfair labor charges against the company.

Shortly before the election the border patrol carried out raids on the company property, which had some effect in intimidating the work force, reportedly made up, in large measure, of undocumented workers. The union charged that the company worked hand in glove with the Immigration and Naturalization Service to intimidate the workers.

The Giumarra farm has long been considered the key to the successful organization of the grape fields. In 1970 it was the Guimarras, father and son, who were instrumental in leading the Delano area grape growers into signing contracts with the UFW following the union's intensive boycott campaign.

In 1973 the same firm was key to Teamster raids that threatened to decimate the UFW. It was on a UFW picketline in front of the Giumarra ranch in 1973 that UFW member Juan de la Cruz was shot and killed.

At the union's August convention the Giumarra election was designated as a prime target, and was the occasion for the largest demonstration and march at the three-day meeting in Fresno.

The loss has stalled the union's organizing drive.

Also nibbling away at the UFW is an offshoot of the Teamsters union, the International Union of Agricultural Workers. On Sept. 27 in the Salinas area Let-Us-Pak workers voted 38 for this organization and 15 for the UFW. On Oct. 19 workers at the W. Hayashi Co. in the Santa Maria area cast 16 votes for this same "independent" union while only four voted for the UFW.

The only bright spot, organizationally, for the UFW in recent weeks was an election among Salinas area workers at the Bertuccelli Co. ranch, who voted 218 for the UFW and 93 for no union on Oct. 17.

Trouble getting contracts.

Rather than go for more representation elections the UFW is now seeking to consolidate its past victories. It is running into some major difficulties in its campaign to sign contracts with companies where the workers have voted in the union.

At present the union is seeking to negotiate contracts with approximately 100 employers on whose ranches it has won elections and where it has been certified as the legal bargaining agent. It is awaiting certification for more than 50 ranches on which it has won elections. It already claims 96 contracts with California and Arizona companies, covering more than 30,000 workers.

Indicative of the kind of trouble the UFW has been running into at ranches where the workers have chosen it as their bargaining agent is the O.P. Murphy tomato ranch in the Salinas Valley.

More than two years ago the workers voted 156 to 22 to be represented by the UFW, but the union has yet to sign a contract with the firm. After stalling the negotiations, the UFW charges, the company fired two members of its negotiating com-

mittee on Sept. 12, which resulted in a work stoppage. The following day, when crews reported for work, they were informed that they were fired. On Sept. 14 the workers were locked out and the company hired strike breakers.

UFW members convinced a majority of the strike breakers to join the walkout. The sheriff then arrested five members of the negotiating committee for talking to workers in the fields. On the next day four more UFW members were arrested, charged with a felony, "conspiracy to commit trespass." Bail for each was set at \$2,000.

Two days later three more UFW members were arrested for trespassing. Scabs and sheriff deputies, according to the UFW, also assaulted union members as they attempted to leave the field. UFW members were arrested and charged with attempted murder.

All of this was so obvious that even the conservative grower-oriented *Salinas Californian* protested the charges, claiming they were improper and politically motivated.

When UFW attorney Sanford Nathan went to the jail to inquire about the arrested members, he was assaulted, according to the union account. The police charged Nathan with "interfering with an officer."

The UFW has instituted a boycott against six Delano area grape ranches where after two years of attempts to reach an agreement they have been unable to negotiate a contract. Under the California Agricultural Labor Relations Act such a boycott is legal where firms have refused to bargain in good faith with the union selected by its employees.

Faced with growers who have become more sophisticated in their anti-union tactics over the years, as well as by those, such as the Murphy firm, that continue to battle unionism in the style of the 1900s, the union finds itself in a difficult situation.

Aftermath of visit to Philippines.

Another factor contributing to the disarray in the UFW ranks and among its supporters is the aftermath of Cesar Chavez' 17-day trip to the Philippines, where he was hosted and given an award by President Ferdinand Marcos.

Chavez' trip in late July and early August has had major repercussions within sections of the union, as well as among long-time supporters.

Christianity and Crisis, an influential publication in the religious activist community that has given strong support to the UFW over the years, carried a three-page open letter to Chavez in its mid-September issue that called him to task for the trip.

Written by Leon Howell, it detailed some of the brutality against Catholics and trade unionists by the Marcos regime. "You have been used by a regime which stands for everything you are against," Howell said.

This was but one of many public protests directed to Chavez. Anti-Marcos Filipino support movements, some of whom were among those who helped build the union's Agbayani village in Delano with their voluntary labor, were among the most vociferous in their protests.

The Church and Society division of the National Council of Churches also declared that it was "disappointed and saddened" by Chavez' acceptance of an award from Marcos.

Why did Chavez go?

Why did Chavez go to the Philippines? Chavez has said that he had been asked by Filipino farm workers to do so since 1965, when the Delano grape strike started.

Others, in and close to the union, however, explained that Chavez was alarmed over the failure of the UFW to attract the votes of many of the Filipino farm workers in representation elections. Still others attributed the Chavez trip to his close relationship with Andy Imutan, a UFW officer five years ago who is currently the head of the Stockton-based Filipino Bayanhian, which sponsored the trip. Imutan

Continued on page 18.

WELFARE

Reform efforts provoke response

By Madeleine Adamson

WASHINGTON—Welfare reform was President Carter's first peace offering to blacks and poor people disgruntled with his lack of attention to their concerns. But if the first in a series of regional conferences on welfare reform held here Oct. 23-25 is any indication, those the move was designed to pacify are growing more angry instead.

The conference's reaction to Carter's "Better Jobs and Income Program" was overwhelmingly negative. Everyone quickly adopted the acronym "JIP" for the program, saying the plan gyps poor people. But on questions of strategy there were sharp differences of opinion.

The Washington conference, and others to follow in Detroit; Birmingham, Ala.; Northampton, Mass.; Portland, Ore.; and Salt Lake City are co-sponsored by the Center on Social Welfare Policy and Law, the Food Research and Action Center, the Movement for Economic Justice and the United Church of Christ Commission on Racial Justice. The idea is to bring together representatives of grass roots poor people's organizations and advocacy groups to explore the impact of the Carter welfare reform proposal and develop a response.

It was five years ago that the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO) claimed its final victory with the defeat of President Nixon's Family Assistance Plan. In the ensuing years poor people's groups, already declining in 1972, virtually disappeared.

Now, with welfare reform rearing its head again in the form of a presidential proposal strikingly similar to Nixon's, a remarkable number of poor people's groups are resurfacing.

Most of the 150 participants at the Washington conference were recipients of AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children)—the major category of the current welfare system. Many were leaders of welfare rights organizations still active in Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Baltimore, West Virginia and elsewhere in the Mid-Atlantic region. The groups are skeletons of what they were in the heyday of NWRO, but they appeared alive and eager to mobilize.

The politics of welfare reform is complex. There are some parts of the Carter proposal that poor people's groups have advocated for years—a federal standard, a minimum guaranteed income and universal coverage.

On the other hand, the benefit level is grossly inadequate, the program would divide roughly the same amount of money between a larger number of people, and it treats people with equal needs unequally. It creates jobs that poor people need and want but does so at the expense of the current CETA program, demeans them with coercive and unrealistic work requirements, and limits their pay level to the minimum wage.

Welfare recipients and poor people's advocates in the North easily see that the few gains won under the Carter program are not enough to merit supporting it. For those in the South, however, the increase in benefit levels is substantial and quite appealing. Conference participants had mixed reactions to this problem. Some, like Roxanne Jones of Philadelphia Citizens in Action, accused the administration of a divide-and-conquer strategy, and argued for a compromise that would benefit everybody. Others, however, said that the bill benefited nobody and said that it needed to be killed.

Various interest groups were invited to present their views at the conference, and opponents of the bill found some allies. Mary Logan, lobbyist for the AFL-CIO, won applause for her statement of labor's opposition.

Bob Hill, representing the National Urban League, was forced to justify Ur-

ban League executive director Vernon Jordan's praise of the Carter plan as a reaction to the initial rhetoric and not the substance of the bill. Hill said now that the details are in, the whole bill should be scrapped and that he'd like to accept the conference's challenge to involve welfare recipients in the development of the Urban League's position.

The Women's Lobby, a Washington-based lobby group, came under attack for its indecisive position on the bill. The antipathy many welfare recipients felt toward the largely middle-class women's movement was evident in a heated exchange about women and work.

The debate over strategy began early and never ended. In the conference's opening session, Richard A. Cloward, co-author with Frances Fox Piven of *Regulating the Poor*, received enthusiastic response to his brief synopsis of the central thesis of their recently released *Poor People's Movements: Why They Succeed and How They Fail*. "Poor people win, if they win at all," he concluded, "only in the streets, only, in short, by causing trouble."

Bert De Leeuw, coordinator of the upcoming regional conference and director

IMMIGRATION

Immigration coalition takes on Carter

There was widespread agreement: Carter's immigration proposals must be rejected.

By Delfino Varela

SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS—Over 2,000 Mexican and Latino activists converged here Oct. 28-30 to formulate a position and plan of action on federal immigration policy. Composed of representatives of most of the large Mexican and Latin community organizations, the gathering represented the broadest coalition ever put together to deal with the immigration issue. Representative groups included the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), the Mexican American Political Association, CASA-General Brotherhood of Workers, Raza Unida party organizations from several states, as well as an assortment of left political groups including the New American Movement and the Socialist Workers party.

With such a wide ideological spectrum represented at the conference there was a great deal of disunity and dissatisfaction on the part of many delegates. But there was agreement that the Carter immigration plan had to be rejected and that the only acceptable immigration solution would be unconditional amnesty for all

of the Movement for Economic Justice, called for a strategy to change the climate of the debate over welfare reform through bold and dramatic mass action by poor people. He and Hulbert James, a former NWRO field director, pushed a strategy of demonstrations demanding jobs.

Other suggestions ranging from "kill the bill" to an incremental lobbying approach received support as well. A major point of debate was national lobbying versus local action. Recipient leaders spoke persuasively and from long experience for their various positions. But in the end, so much time had been spent on understanding the intricacies of the bill that there was not enough time to find out whether the question of strategy could be resolved.

All that was agreed upon was a set of 12 "Alternative Welfare Reform Recommendations," including an income floor of \$10,000, comprehensive child care, 65 weeks unemployment compensation, increased availability of funds, and realistic career-oriented job training.

The conference did not come to agreement on a plan of action. Nonetheless, a small group led by former NWRO officer and associate director Faith Evans held a

press conference announcing an all-out assault to stop the bill.

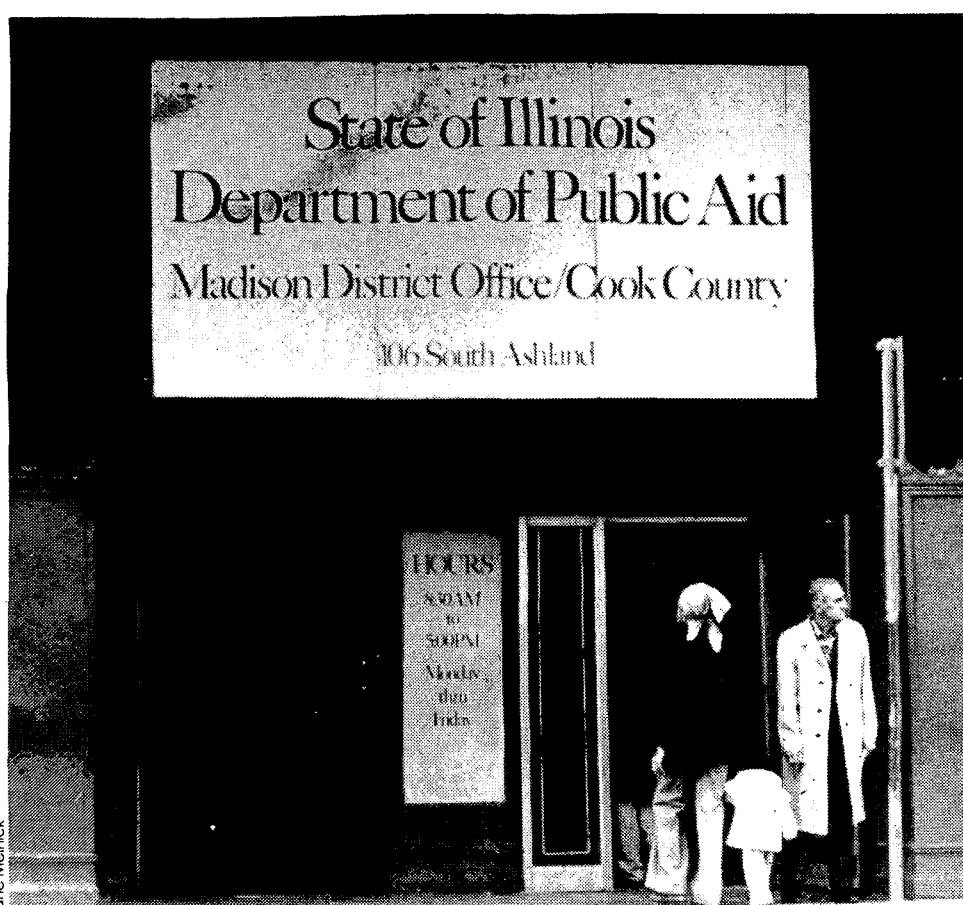
Conference organizers hope following conferences will develop a more unified and clearly defined response to the Carter proposals.

John Kramer, counsel to the House subcommittee on Welfare Reform and a long-time friend of welfare rights groups, however, told the conference not to "run at the Carter bill with daggers because you might get cut up by all the other groups running at it with daggers; it will die by itself."

Whether Kramer's prediction is right or not, welfare reform is providing the impetus for poor people's groups to get together and talk about local organizing again after some long silent years.

Madeleine Adamson is editor of *Just Economics*.

For more information on the upcoming regional conferences on welfare reform—Northampton, Mass., Nov. 18-20; Salt Lake City, Dec. 3-5; Portland, Ore., Dec. 10-12—contact the Movement for Economic Justice, 1735 T Street NW, Washington, DC 20009, phone 202/462-4200.



people without documents now in the U.S.

There was also agreement among conference speakers—which included Jose Angel Gutierrez, founder of the Raza Unida party, Antonio Rodriguez, president of CASA, and Ruben Bonilla, Texas chairman of LULACS—that the most objectionable part of Carter's immigration proposal was the use of sanctions on employers who hire workers without documents.

This would put the employers in the position of arbiters in what is often a complex legal issue as to whether or not a particular worker has the right to accept employment in the U.S. The provisions would be a ready tool in the hands of unscrupulous employers to discriminate against workers with high seniority or against activists, as well as an excuse for discriminating against all Latino or foreign-born workers.

Participants were not convinced that Carter's proposal to beef up civil rights law enforcement activities would be an effective counterweight, as the Civil Rights Commission is now three years behind in processing complaints. Proposed increases in personnel would leave it in the same place given the expected rise in complaints that would be filed.

Carter's plan to grant permanent residence to those undocumented workers who have lived continuously in the U.S. since January 1970 was seen as too limited, since it would help only some 10 to 25 percent of those without documents.

The proposal to create a special class

of non-deportable persons for those who have lived in the U.S. continuously since between January 1970 and Dec. 31, 1976, was seen as totally unacceptable. Workers in this category would be put in legal limbo; able to work, pay taxes, but unable to receive any federal or state benefits. This was categorized by many as a form of wage slavery.

The greatest divisions among the delegates came over plans for action. The Socialist Workers party insisted that a delegation be sent to Washington on Nov. 18 to coincide with a series of local demonstrations and actions around the country. This would be followed by a possible national mobilization early next year, after local organization and lobbying had been accomplished.

Follow-up action to the conference, however, is primarily up to the constituent organizations separately, and according to their own perspectives.

There were many expressions from delegates that the struggle of Chicanos and Latinos in the U.S. is parallel and complementary to the struggles of oppressed peoples everywhere. At the end of the conference it was unanimously agreed that the conference be dedicated to the memory of Steven Biko, a leader of the South African liberation struggle who was recently murdered in his jail cell by the South African government.

Delfino Varela is active in the effort to reform immigration laws and works with Mexican-American Social Service in Los Angeles.

THE BORDER

Torture case stirs border town boycott

By Tom Barry

AGUA PRIETA, SONORA, MEXICO—"Chicklets? Gum? Candy? Solamente 50 centavos, señora."

"Quiere el shoeshine, señor. Only 10 centavos."

Each day the street *huercos* of this border town swarm around the entry station from Douglas, Ariz., looking for likely *turistas* who might buy some chewing gum or who may want their shoes shined. Always hustling, these small vendors from the ages of six or seven keep their sales pitch going tirelessly all day—each centavo means that life in Agua Prieta will be a little less harsh.

Today, Saturday, Oct. 22, the hawkers and the shoeshine boys also carry a pitch for a "boycoteo" of all the Arizona border towns from Douglas to Yuma. "Don't buy in the U.S. border towns until there is justice in the Hanigan case. Don't shop in Douglas," they shout together at the Mexican cars lining up for Saturday-shopping in the American supermarkets and dime stores across the border.

Everyone nods in recognition for the Hanigan case has been the most talked about subject in this frontier area for the past year.

On Aug. 18, 1976, a prominent Douglas ranching family kidnapped and tortured three men from Agua Prieta and later sent them fleeing across the border naked and bleeding from shotgun and knife wounds. One man, Manuel Loya Garcia, was hit 125 times before he escaped the spray of birdshot from the shotguns of Pat, Tom, and George Hanigan.

On Oct. 9, a year and two months after the brutal episode, an all-Anglo jury found the Hanigans not guilty despite such tell-tale evidence found on their ranch as the burnt clothes, belt buckles, and food of the men also discovered near a windmill on the ranch—the place where the Mexican men say they were beaten and tortured—with spent shotgun shells and traces of blood.

Among those passing out the yellow and black leaflets explaining the boycott is Frank Barraza, the young Douglas city councillor who helped organize the boycott and the protest. "We plan to boycott every Saturday until the Justice department comes in and investigates this incident and the trial. We intend to show that the people of Mexico are concerned about the case and its consequences. The court let the Hanigans go even though everybody knew they were guilty. So if a boycott is what it takes to get justice, it has to be done."

Tension and violence along border.

Tension is nothing new along the U.S. Mexico line. It's a tension of race, culture, class. On one side of the line, whites are in control; on the other side, it's all brown faces. In Douglas, despite the 75 percent Chicano population, only English is the accepted language; in Agua Prieta, everyone speaks Spanish. On one side of the border, the wealth of the ranchers is conspicuous; on the other side poverty is everywhere.

And on the American side Mexicans become "aliens," "illegals," "cheap labor."

Lately, the Border Patrol in Douglas has been picking up an increasing number of undocumented workers from across the border. Chief Border Patrol agent Herbert Walsh says the agency deported 782 undocumented workers this August in the Douglas area, and almost 5,000 in the last year, up almost 50 percent from the previous year.

Also rising, say area residents, is the number of burglaries in southern Cochise County. "I don't know how many times we've tracked them to the border fence. Most of our problems come from Mexico, but there is little we can do," says Sheriff Jim Wilson.

County citizens petitioned last month for increased police protection and stepped up border patrol, and have called

In August 1976 a prominent ranch family kidnapped and tortured three men, sending them back across the border naked and bloody from shotgun and knife wounds.



Leaflet passed out along the border.

for a mounted police guard along the border.

In the old Phelps-Dodge copper mining town of Bisbee, the residents recently formed a posse of 60 people to hunt down a suspect Mexican from Chihuahua named Carlos Cano. "We're going to get that Mexican," declared the sheriff, leading the posse on horseback.

Area Border Patrol supervisor Drexel Atkinson sees the problem this way: "Every illegal alien is a potential burglar."

Frank Barraza notes that while the Hanigan incident was unusually brutal the inhuman treatment of Mexican workers in Cochise County is rather common. He tells of children being sheared and tarred by ranch hands and workers being shot without any police investigation.

Margo Cowan, director of the Tucson Manzo Area Council, one of the three public immigration service centers in the country, says, "The only difference in this case is that it made the press, most of the cases of brutality that plague undocumented workers never come out in the open."

The acquittal of the Hanigan brothers (George Hanigan, their father, died before the trial began) outraged many residents of both cities, bringing 1,500 demonstrators out to protest on the Saturday following the announcement of the verdict.

Gathering at the border, protesters called for the intervention of the Justice department. "For months and months we waited for the case to come to court, but it was delayed so many times. Then we waited for the verdict to come, but now we have been silent too long and have to do something to ensure that justice is done here," said Barraza.

Under the windmill.

Manuel Loya Garcia, Eleasar Ruelas Zavala, and Bernabe Herrera Mata crossed the border together that day last August to look for work at the ranches outside Douglas.

The men had, of course, been across the border many other times to work as field hands in the cotton and vegetable harvests. And, like thousands of other Mexican migrant farmworkers, Manuel, Eleasar and Bernabe had on several past occasions been picked up by the Border Patrol, the Migra.

This trip all three men had ranches to go where the foremen were expecting them. On foot, they were stopped at the well on the outskirts of the Hanigan ranch in Elfrida to fill their bottles with water.

About to continue their hike, the men were stopped by the Hanigan brothers and their father and told at gunpoint to get in the pick-up truck. At the ranch windmill, the truck stopped and the Hanigans announced they were going to teach the Mexicans a lesson they wouldn't forget.

At the trial the three men told how George Hanigan watched with a shotgun as the brothers Pat, 26, and Tom, 22, built a fire and threatened to shove the men into it.

One by one they were taken out of the Hanigan truck and forced to the ground and bound by hand and feet. "Piece by piece, they began cutting off our hair and clothes," said Garcia, who also said that \$37 was taken from him by Pat Hanigan.

Zavala told how Pat Hanigan, brandishing a knife, had said, "I like your balls, I would like to cut them off." Then talking a hot metal rod from the fire, Han-

igan said he was going to burn his genitals and cut off his penis.

Zavala told also of being dragged across the rocky desert ground and then hung by the neck from a tree branch for a minute. Then letting him down, Pat Hanigan took the rod and touched the men's feet with the burning hot metal. "The skin of my feet were stinking real bad from the burning," remembered Zavala at the trial.

Run for their lives.

After an hour of torture and beating, the Hanigans untied the men one by one and told them to run for it.

Their feet badly burned, without any clothes, and severely shaken, the men ran for their lives. As they ran, the Hanigans opened fire. "As the pellets hit, I felt as if a whole bunch of bees were sticking to my body and my legs."

Individually, the men reached the border, not knowing if their companions were dead or alive.

All the men were treated at the Civil Hospital in Agua Prieta. Dr. Ramon Barrossao, hospital director, testified at the trial corroborating the men's stories. He told the court that Garcia had received 125 pellet wounds, Mata had 47 gun wounds, and all of the men had severe outer-skin abrasions on their wrists and ankles. In addition, their feet had burn wounds from the metal rod, and blisters from the long walk back to the border through the scorched desert.

Evidence didn't matter.

On Aug. 19, the day after the torturing at the Hanigan windmill site, a cursory search by detective Grant Gonzales, formerly of the Border Patrol Strike Force, found traces of Type O blood (two of the men have blood type O), parched remainders of the Mexican's clothing, their belt buckles in the ashes of the fire, the key to Garcia's suitcase (which Garcia said he had left with Hernandez in Agua Prieta), shot gun shells from the Hanigans' guns, blood on the clothing of the Hanigan brothers, and the scattered remains of the red bologna and the bread the men said they carried with them from Mexico.

However, the jury—all from the boomtown region around the Army intelligence base in Sierra Vista—startled the residents of Douglas and Agua Prieta by finding the Hanigans not guilty on 22 counts of kidnapping and assault.

"I was astounded," said prosecuting attorney Pat Elliston. "It's difficult to believe that on those facts we could not get any kind of verdict."

The guilty verdict brought a strong reaction from the Mexican government. "This cynic jury has just declared open season on illegal aliens," said Mexican Consul Raul Avaleyra. And Mexican Interior Minister Mario Moya Palencia called the torturing of the Mexican citizens a "flagrant violation of the human rights of our countrymen" and an example of "racial sadism" seen frequently along the border.

On Oct. 11 the Tucson Manzo Area Council presented a petition to Asst. U.S. Attorney Bates Butler in Tucson asking for a federal investigation of civil rights violations in the case. Butler has since authorized a FBI investigation of the incident, but Frank Barraza and others in Douglas and Agua Prieta say they are not satisfied with superficial FBI inquiry and want a full-scale investigation by the Civil Rights Division of the Justice department.

Barraza says the not guilty verdict raises numerous questions about the future of justice in Cochise County and says that people won't rest until there is justice in the Hanigan case. He explains that the boycott is aimed at the merchants because they have supported the power structure in the county, which has allowed discrimination and injustice to continue in the county.

Tom Barry writes for Seers Rio Grande Weekly in Albuquerque.

CO-OPS

Oregon workers move to form lumber co-op

By Jerry Lembecke

In Westfir, Oregon, where classic mill-town paternalism recently died, a future based on cooperative economic relations is struggling to be born.

The town of 1,300—its mills, houses, grocery store, water, sewage and fire protection service—was the property of the Chicago-based Edward Hines Lumber Company until early June when the company announced plans to sell out. Hines, which owns other mills in Oregon, cited insufficient profits as its reason for abandoning Westfir.

On Aug. 9 Mitchell, Blacketer and Associates Ltd., a real estate firm from Medford, Ore., purchased the town for \$5 million "not to operate the complex directly but to sell off the separate plants—sawmill, veneer, plywood and planing mills—as operating units to private individuals or companies." The new owners say the mill will remain closed for an "indefinite period" before the actual cannibalizing of the property begins.

On Aug. 23 the Westfir Workers' Association (WWA) announced its intention to form a cooperative of present and past employees of the Hines mill. Frank Ross, speaking for the group, said the WWA intended to apply for a federal loan under Titles II and IX of the Economic Development Act. That act provides for loans up to 80 percent of the purchase price. The additional funds would be raised by selling \$2,000 shares to workers and from loans from the local credit union.

If the mill is purchased, it will be managed by a board of directors composed of mill workers elected on a one-worker-one-vote basis.

Saving the Westfir mill means saving the surrounding area. The town sits on the edge of Oakridge, a company town formerly owned and still dominated by the Pope and Talbot Lumber Company. The 340 jobs at the Westfir plant represent 18 percent of the employment for the two communities; the \$5 million Westfir payroll was 20 of the total.

Legacy of struggle.

The Westfir workers have a legacy of struggle. The town was begun in 1923 through a government development sale, part of a program to open the forests of the upper Willamette river area. The timber was offered to any company willing to build a mill and a town on the site. The Western Lumber Co. did it.

During the Depression Western Lumber folded and after two sales Westfir became Hines property in 1945. The International Woodworkers of America (IWA), a left-wing CIO union, organized the mill in the 1940s.

Hines waged class struggle with old-fashioned paternalism. It apparently served them well. Even in the face of economic ruin, Hines' former employees are reluctant to blame the company. "This company has been good to me," said one worker. "I can't think of any other company in the Northwest that treats people as decently as this company here."

The once-militant and socialist-minded IWA is resigned to the mill closure. While the union has given tacit support to public takeover of mills and worker control schemes in British Columbia, the Oregon leadership, nurtured in the International's most conservative region, shuns radical traditions. When asked about the union, one Westfir worker responded, "The union hasn't done a goddam thing."

Westfir's workers are not alone in facing an uncertain future. For 20 years the trends in employment and number of mills operating has been downward while production and profits have soared.

If the mill is purchased it will be managed by a board of directors composed of mill workers elected on a one-worker-one-vote basis. But so far the present owner of the mill and surrounding town have shown little inclination to sell the property to the mill workers.

Mechanization of logging and sawmill operations plus shifts to capital-intensive paper/pulp production have accounted for much of the decline. Runaway shop has been a factor as well. The timber giants—Weyerhaeuser and Georgia Pacific—operate in a score of Third World countries including South Africa, Indonesia and Brazil. The Southeastern states of the U.S., where wages in the industry are half those in the Northwest, are also receiving the runaways.

These trends have been exacerbated by the recent economic recession. Over 100 mills in the Northwest have closed since 1970, and unemployment is over 20 percent in some counties, with lines reminiscent of the 1930s.

The small mills, like the one at Westfir, also face a constricted timber supply. They don't own their own timber lands and have to buy logs from either the big timber owners like Weyerhaeuser or from the government.

In recent years, Weyerhaeuser has been

Ariel Nance, courtesy Oregon Times



Frank Ross, one of the leaders of the Westfir workers, is determined to win the co-op.

selling unprocessed logs to Japan for high prices, driving up the price of logs to local small mills. Lumber prices, while sky high, are not sufficient to entice small investors and owners to keep their mills running in the face of even higher raw-log prices. Hines Lumber Company cited high log prices as a factor in its pull-out.

Supportive environment.

The environment isn't entirely hostile to the Westfir Workers Association, however. The Lane (County) Economic Development Council, a local group that advocates cooperatively-owned and managed small businesses as an alternative to monopoly and multinational economic control, has moved in to assist the community. The LEDC has been the catalyst for pursuing worker ownership through the Economic Development Administration.

Other cooperative ventures in the state have offered assistance and moral support. Ed Wemple, representing the Hoe-

dads, a local tree-planting co-op of 300 workers, at the Aug. 23 meeting pointed to the community spirit that develops when people work together as an added benefit of cooperatives. He pledged the support of his group to the WWA.

Lyle McDonald, manager of Linnton Plywood Association, a co-op, also gave encouragement to the WWA. Linnton Plywood is one of 16 plywood co-ops in Oregon and Washington employing 80-450 workers. McDonald cited increased productivity, higher wages, collective decision-making and job security as major advantages in the co-op arrangement. His plant "has experienced no unemployment since 1971."

Lane County commissioner Jerry Rust committed the county to financing the \$10,000 to \$20,000 feasibility study required for Title IX funding. Rep. Jim Weaver promised help in getting the federal loan if the WWA could accomplish the feasibility study. The Lane County

Continued on page 18.

CONSUMERS

Banks sued for bad check overcharges

By Paul Allen
Pacific News Service

SAN FRANCISCO—While Bert Lance's bank over-draft problems offer proof that even bankers sometimes foul up their checkbooks, two public interest attorneys here have set out to prove that American banks are illegally reaping billions of dollars a year from ordinary Americans' bounced checks.

In a series of class action suits on behalf of California's millions of bank customers, attorneys E. Robert Wallach and David Baum have charged that the state's 15 largest banks have overcharged customers more than \$1 billion for overdrafts during the past four years.

One of the 15 suits charges that the Bank of America, which controls 35 percent of the California market, took in \$80 million from overdraft charges in 1976 alone. The suit seeks \$320 million in damages from the Bank of America for four years of the alleged overcharge.

The suits contend:

- the banks' so-called "penalty charges" on over-drawn checks exceed by at least 10 to 25 times the actual cost of processing the overdrafts;

- the banks' customer contracts, or "signatory cards"—which all bank customers must sign—compel customers to agree in advance to these excessive charges;

- and that banks routinely discriminate against holders of small accounts by charging them for overdrafts, while letting large account holders off scot-free.

The attorneys allege that the banks charge between \$4 and \$7.50 for every check returned to the customer for insufficient funds.

Yet, according to bank documents acquired through discovery motions, the actual cost to the banks for handling bounced checks is only 30 cents per check.

The customer, signatory cards—the "contracts" by which the banks claim the right to impose the charges—are also void under California law, say the plaintiffs. They cite a section of the California code stipulating that any contract that seeks to set a penalty in advance for a breach of obligation is invalid.

The only fee that can legally be charged, the lawyers claim, is the 30 cents it actually costs to process the check through the bank's computer. Any additional amount, they say, is an illegal charge.

In addition, the plaintiffs charge that the customers' signatory cards constitute an illegal "adhesion contract"—one imposed by an economically powerful institution on a customer who has no real choice but to sign.

Since all California banks impose fees in the same high range, a customer can't take his business elsewhere to get a better deal, according to this view.

If attorneys Wallach and Baum win certification, which could happen by late October, preliminary arguments could begin in December. The number of class action plaintiffs is expected to reach about 10 million persons, or any California bank customer who has been overcharged for an over-draft in the period covered by the litigation.

Meanwhile, attorneys for the banks are filing demurs and legal pleas calling the suits' allegations "conclusionary, argumentative, irrelevant, immaterial, surplusage, and improperly pleaded."

Legal observers note that such cases often take years to maneuver through the courts.

Paul Allen is a Bay Area radio reporter and freelance writer.

LABOR

New labor coalition out for shorter work week

The "Shorter Work Week" banner has been stashed in the house of labor's back-room closets since the days of Franklin D. Roosevelt, when the Fair Labor Standards Act established the 40-hour week. Union conventions periodically pay tribute to it with high-sounding resolutions that are never implemented. And labor leaders regularly deplore the evils of unemployment and talk about how a reduction in hours would provide more jobs for all. But little has been done, up until now, to turn this humanitarian demand into a tangible political campaign.

Now a broad-based coalition, founded at a Detroit conference Oct. 25, has dusted off the shorter work week banner and plans to build a grass-roots movement behind it. While still small in numbers and influence, the "All Unions Committee to Shorten the Work Week" is formulating a legislative/collective bargaining strategy to raise the shorter work week as a concrete solution to widespread unemployment, plant shut-downs and job displacement due to technology.

"We are here today because for 40 years the drive for shorter hours has lain dormant and we have ten million men and women in America who do not have jobs. It's a fact that we are not going to effectively combat unemployment until we commit ourselves to reduce the work week in this country," declared Frank Runnels, president of United Auto Workers' Local 22, in the keynote speech.

"When I talk about shorter hours, I'm talking about shorter hours with no reduction in pay," he added.

Runnels, later elected president of the group, addressed his remarks to 50 local union officials representing over 200,000 members in 13 states. Their immediate efforts will be directed towards an April 11 conference in Dearborn, Mich., where they hope to bring delegates from 500 unions across the nation.

A unique cross-section of unions.
The meeting brought together a unique cross-section of union representatives. It included those from politically liberal unions (UAW, State, County and Municipal Employees), traditionally left-led unions (United Electrical Workers, the west coast

Longshoremen, Furniture Workers), and more middle-of-the-road unions (Steelworkers, Retail Clerks, Machinists).

This mixture is a "great stride forward," Runnels told **IN THESE TIMES**. "The issue is so important that we'll just have to forget about the things in the past that have been divisive."

While now composed of middle-level union officers, the committee is actively courting international officials and hopes to involve rank and filers on the local level. UAW president Douglas Fraser has agreed to address the April convention.

The committee also hopes to win the support of community organizations. "Right now we're working on organizing ourselves. But how can you not address community organizations on this issue?" asks Charles Barton, president of Chicago Local P-500 of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters union.

Nat Spero, research director for the UE, called for an "aggressive rank-and-file fight" for the shorter work week in one conference paper. "It will take a substantial mobilization of the membership of organized labor, imbued with the fighting spirit and determination, to win this fight in the halls of Congress and at the collective bargaining tables."

No defined hour goal.
In the past a major stumbling block to a unified shorter work week movement, according to Runnels, has been disagreement about the exact number of hours to be won. The committee therefore will not set a specific target, but leaves the unions "the flexibility at the bargaining table they need to meet their individual set of circumstances."

A 35-hour week, for example, with no reduction in pay, would create 7,850,000 new jobs and meet the urgent need for quickly providing work for the unemployed. It is also necessary, explained Nat Spero, to provide jobs both for the 1,800,000 young and women workers who enter the labor force each year and for the 2,400,000 employees who are annually displaced by technological advances and speedup.

Committee organizers emphasize that this is not an "internal union political movement," but rather an attempt to

unify and coordinate the activity of a wide variety of unions to achieve the shorter work week. Local shorter work week committees already exist in Illinois, Iowa, Massachusetts and New York.

Overtime still a problem.
The committee has so far not addressed the issue of overtime. Although the ordinary work week is now 40 hours, many employees routinely work more because companies find it more profitable to pay time-and-a-half than the additional fringe benefits for newly-hired workers. This situation is perpetuated by mandatory overtime provisions in union contracts. Runnels pledges to eventually tackle this issue, however, probably by making overtime more expensive.

Committee members believe that Congress and the public will become more receptive to this demand as the unemployment crisis deepens. "Every percentage point in the unemployment costs the U.S.

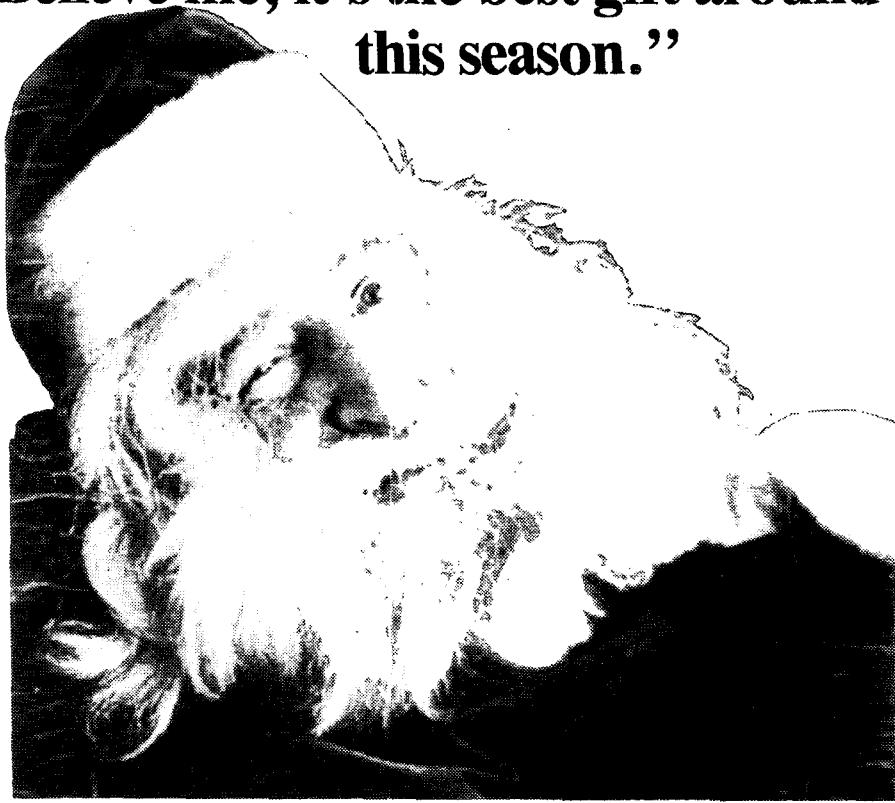
Treasury an estimated \$17 billion—\$12 billion in lost tax revenues and \$5 billion in food stamps, unemployment insurance, and other support programs," according to the Congressional Joint Economic Committee.

"A big part of our local efforts will be to educate our members against what the corporations will come out with. A shorter work week will mean less burden on them as taxpayers," says Charles Barton.

Organizers apparently agree that the increased payroll costs that would accompany a shorter work week should be paid out of corporate profits. But they have not adequately dealt with the problem of how to counter the company argument that the demand is inflationary and thus detrimental to consumer purchasing power.

"Prices will still go up either way," concludes Runnels. "Workers have an equity in company profits. We're just saying that we want part of our equity in the form of a reduced work week."

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UAW's Frank Runnels, president-elect of All-Unions Committee to Shorten the Work Week

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

A potent force for political change

By Sid Blumenthal
BOSTON—From quixotic beginnings a decade and a half ago, Citizens for Participation in Political Action (CPPAX), a state-wide Massachusetts political organization, has grown into a potent political force that has influenced the course of national presidential contests, played a salient role in electing the most consistently progressive delegation to the House of Representatives and exercised respected clout in state politics. Politically left-liberal, CPPAX offers a demonstration of how a wide range of leftists and liberals can work constructively together to achieve programmatic objectives.

Fifteen years ago Bay State progressives supported the campaign of Harvard professor H. Stuart Hughes for the U.S. Senate. Although that 1962 race is remembered primarily for the election of Edward Kennedy, Hughes garnered national publicity for nuclear disarmament while receiving about 5 percent of the vote.

More significantly, however, the network of activists gathered by his campaign decided to continue beyond the election as a group. Calling themselves MassPAX, the former Hughes' campaign workers promoted an end to the Cold War, disarmament and a reversal of national priorities.

When the Vietnam war became a central issue in the mid-'60s, MassPAX helped to make Massachusetts perhaps the most strongly anti-war state in the country. MassPAX sponsored teach-ins,

organized demonstrations and sought electoral alternatives to Lyndon Johnson. Sen. Eugene McCarthy (D-Minn.), a dove on Vietnam who challenged LBJ in Democratic primaries in 1968, might never have done so without MassPAX, one of the first organizations to endorse his bid.

Money from MassPAX contributors and activists from its ranks buoyed McCarthy in the New Hampshire primary, a pivotal event, leading to Robert Kennedy's entrance into the campaign and Johnson's eventual abdication.

At the fateful 1968 Democratic convention in Chicago, 100 of Massachusetts' 102 delegates voted for McCarthy. Returning to the Bay State the delegates formed another group called Citizens for Participation Politics, which advocated "New Politics" policies on the state level.

MassPAX and CPP worked jointly on many issues, from women's rights to aid for public transportation. Their most fervent activity, though, still centered on the Vietnam war. Through their efforts the Massachusetts legislature put itself on record against the war.

In this period, the two groups also held a caucus to choose a candidate to oppose an entrenched traditional Democratic congressman. Robert Drinan, a Jesuit priest, dean of the Boston College Law School and an outspoken anti-war liberal, was selected, going on to win the seat.

Since then, CPPAX has played substantial roles in four other congressional races

in which progressives have been elected. Among them is Michael Harrington, who exposed the CIA's destabilization program against socialist Chile.

Based on their experience with the caucus to pick congressional candidates, MassPAX and CPP in 1972 sponsored a Citizens' Presidential Caucus, which endorsed George McGovern. This was a signal event in the early stage of McGovern's campaign.

Massachusetts offers the first presidential primary in a major industrial state, considerably more representative than New Hampshire. When progressives in the Bay State are united on a single nominee an election victory rates a good chance.

As a result of McGovern's endorsement at the Citizens' Presidential Caucus he won easily in the primary, establishing himself as frontrunner in the Democratic sweepstakes.

MassPAX and CPP decided to merge after the caucus. Despite McGovern's miserable showing in the November race with Richard Nixon, Massachusetts stuck by him, the only state to place its electors in his column. CPPAX was among the reasons.

CPPAX then led the "Impeach Nixon" drive in Massachusetts and pursued its lobbying at the State House on Beacon Hill for expanded voting rights and pro-environmental legislation. In 1974, it sponsored another citizens' caucus to endorse a candidate for Massachusetts Secre-

tary of State. Its nominee, Paul Guzzi, won handily.

Trying to repeat its success in promoting the most liberal presidential candidate, CPPAX held another caucus before the 1976 presidential primary. No clear consensus emerged from the convention, however, with CPPAX members split between hopefuls Fred Harris and Morris Udall. Because no overwhelming majority could be secured for either candidate, there was no endorsement. Udall lost the Massachusetts primary by a few percentage points, failing to gain desperately needed momentum.

Although CPPAX now offers an impressive agenda—for full employment, huge cuts in the Pentagon budget, and end to aid to foreign dictators, tax reform, and so on—its most effective recent effort has been to elect progressive members to the state legislature, a bastion of petty privilege and corruption. Fourteen CPPAX endorsees took seats as state senators and representatives this year.

Currently the group claims over 2,500 dues-paying members, with thousands of other supporters. It offers a sustained example of electoral-oriented activity for tangible goals with some measure of success. It is also one of the significant reasons Massachusetts voters are generally considered more progressive on national issues than any others.

Sidney Blumenthal writes for The Real Paper.

RUNAWAY SHOPS



Zenith is closing down many of its plants in the U.S. Communities no longer have to passively accept such decisions.

Carol Becker

Community options to counter the industrial exodus

State and local city governments faced with an "industrial exodus" overseas or to non-union, low-wage regions of the country need not helplessly prostrate themselves before corporate power.

Edward Kelly, research director of the Ohio Public Interest Campaign, which has been promoting a bill to regulate runaway shops, offers advice on a number of reforms that could be passed at all levels of government to halt, or at least slow plant shutdowns and escapes in a new booklet available from the National Conference on Alternative State and Local Public Policies, *Industrial Exodus*.

The industrial shift—including plant closings, partial closings, shifting patterns

of new investment by manufacturers, export of capital by financial institutions—has brought high unemployment, fiscal crisis of government and social decay—including increased crime, alcoholism, child beating and "economic depression"—to the traditional industrial states, Kelly says.

At the federal level, Kelly advocates regulation of corporate relocation, full employment legislation, changes in tax incentives for multinational corporations, changes in tariff codes encouraging overseas production, repeal of right-to-work laws, greater aid to small, locally-owned businesses and banking regulation that would more strictly mandate service to community needs.

States can also regulate factory closings by requiring notification well in advance and payment of mandatory benefits to affected employees and communities.

Other policies Kelly recommends include stricter regulation of corporate takeovers, creation of public financial institutions, strict state banking regulation requiring service to community needs, cooperation among states to avoid raiding, destructive competition and tax avoidance by big business.

He also recommends that employees and communities under some conditions might buy existing plants and that cooperatives also can be developed. State and

local governments can also buy, where practical, supplies and services from businesses that strengthen their area economy and can boycott J.P. Stevens products, in order to aid unionization of the South.

However, he strongly argues against the one favorite device for luring business—tax incentives. They don't work to attract business or create jobs and lead to loss of revenue and the start of a vicious cycle of concessions to corporate demands, such as lower wages, weaker unions, and less regulation of corporations.

—David Moberg
Industrial Exodus is available from the Conference at 1901 Q Street NW, Washington, DC 20009.

IN THE WORLD

ISRAEL

Begin gets a new coalition partner

By David Mandel

TEL AVIV—Yigael Yadin's Democratic Movement for Change, the third largest Israeli party since the May 17 elections, has adamantly refused to join the government coalition, despite Premier Menachem Begin's attempts to find a compromise formula. But after the ex-general and archeology professor visited the U.S. and chatted with Cyrus Vance early in October, his party's leadership voted overwhelmingly to join the coalition, and on terms offered months ago.

Yadin admits that his American trip was a factor. Predicting a significant further increase in American pressure on Israel, he said: "It would be irresponsible of us not to say to the public that an emergency situation now exists." The government's parliamentary base must be strengthened to prepare for the struggle, he argued, citing American Jewish opinion that urged the DMC to join.

It can hardly be doubted that the Yadin-Vance conversation touched on internal Israeli politics, too, and on the unexpected changes that have taken place in the face of American pressure.

Unexpected flexibility.

The Begin-Moishe Dayan team has proven more flexible so far than many observers expected. Israel succeeded in sparking an uproar among American Jews and other pro-Israel stalwarts following the Oct. 1 joint Soviet-American statement, in which for the first time, the U.S. endorsed use of the phrase "legitimate rights" of the Palestinians, instead of "legitimate interests." But then Dayan, and eventually the whole cabinet, put off the looming confrontation by approving a U.S.-proposed "working paper" on procedure for the Geneva peace conference. The paper calls for inclusion of Palestinian representatives in the peace talks, as part of a united Arab delegation at the opening session, and for their participation, together with the Egyptian and Jordanian negotiating teams, in the "working groups" that will discuss the fate of the occupied territories and other issues.

Nevertheless, the outcome of the Geneva talks and, for that matter, their opening are still far from certain. Israel has by no means agreed to withdraw from the West Bank and Gaza and allow a Palestinian state there, as the Arabs—and eventually the Americans—are sure to demand; nor is the identity of the Palestinian participants settled: Israel still refuses to meet the PLO or its designates, Syria insists that it do so, and Egypt is hedging. But even the procedural acceptance of a united Arab delegation and Palestinian participation at Geneva is seen as a major concession to American wishes and is something that the former Labor government never agreed to.

Sure enough, Laborites Golda Meir, Shimon Peres and even the "dove" Yitzhak Rabin were quick to criticize Begin's concession. Politically, the outflanking maneuver fell flat: Dovish labor voters who supported Peres in the elections as the only viable alternative to a hard-line rightist government could certainly not stomach such a stance. Nor is it likely that a single Likud supporter was wooed away by the tough talk.

But Labor's floundering did, apparently, have an effect on the DMC and on the U.S. State Department. One of the DMC's main reasons for not joining the coalition earlier was the Likud's inflexibility on withdrawals and Jewish settlements in the occupied territories. The DMC and Labor had almost identical platforms on this issue, supporting partial withdrawal (but like the Likud, also opposing a Palestinian state or talking with the PLO).

The DMC's dovish faction (two or three out of 15 MPs) which still opposes the lat-



Yigael Yadin (left) with his deputy, Professor Amnon Rubenstein.

Yigael Yadin's Democratic Movement for Change, made up of ex-Laborites and others, joined the Begin government. Yadin is betting that Labor is finished and that he might someday succeed a sickly Begin.

est decision and may leave the party, was undercut by Labor's new hawkishness. It had advocated aggressive opposition, closely coordinated with Labor and aimed at bringing the government down. Yadin himself had previously opposed joining, but returned from Washington "a new man," as Begin put it.

Vance, it seems, also drew conclusions from Labor's flop and the Likud's flexibility. From the American standpoint, it now seemed more likely that Likud would bend to its wishes than that Labor would provide a viable alternative to the present government.

Yadin possible successor.

The 64-year-old Begin is not well—he suffered a severe heart attack several months before the elections, and while Yadin was in the U.S., he was hospitalized for exhaustion and minor heart trouble. The problem of succession is liable to tear the Likud apart, should it arise. Having the DMC inside the coalition will strengthen its more moderate elements (some of the Likud's liberals and a few of the religious parties' MPs are more moderate than Begin).

A charismatic Yadin, who will now receive the position of vice-premier, temporary successor in case of Begin's incapacity, is more likely to emerge as permanent successor from such a position. Now that Carter, Vance and company have apparently decided to "go with" the present government instead of placing its bets on an imminent Labor revival, they would certainly prefer that the DMC join up.

Besides Yadin, the DMC is led by assorted political personalities—mostly ex-Labor but some ex-Likud—who had reached dead ends in their previous political homes. DMC voters are ex-Labor supporters, fed up with Labor's hypocritical "socialism" and its corruption, but uneasy with Likud's extremism. The DMC's clearest political stand was on the

issue of changing the electoral system. It wants constituencies instead of proportional representation.

The new party pinned its hopes on winning enough seats to become Labor's indispensable coalition partner, after which it would impose this and some economic reforms on Labor. It did not expect the right to form a government without the DMC and Labor.

But this is what happened. And it left the DMC impotent, unclear as to its *raison d'être*, afraid of losing voters to the Likud as the latter shed its extremist image. Now, it has decided to gamble on the success of the Likud government, and on its success in making a public impact from within the coalition.

Government stronger.

The DMC will control three other ministries besides Yadin's position: Justice, transportation and communications, and social welfare (encompassing labor, welfare, and eventually health). The other coalition partners have agreed that partial election reform will be instituted (about ten districts in which voting will be proportional) and have granted DMC members the right to abstain on votes involving the future of the occupied territories and total freedom in voting on questions of religion and state.

The immediate effect of DMC's joining the coalition is an increase in the government's strength. Out of 120 seats, the opposition is down to 42—seven representing the two left blocs, four other individuals, and Labor's feuding and demoralized 31. Even most of these would today support the government in a confrontation with the U.S. over total withdrawal or talking to the PLO.

But the issue of "standing up to U.S. pressure" is likely to become much more complicated. Already, a certain schizophrenia is creeping into the country's mentality. Since 1967, as they have little by little lost all other world support for

their expansionist policy, Israeli's have become "more pro-American than the President," to paraphrase a well-known pontifical reference.

They supported the Vietnam war to the bitter end; incredibly enough, Israel took the initiative to recognize the Thieu regime in 1973! Both Labor and Likud outdo each other in trying to convince the U.S. how willing and capable they are in defending its interests in the Middle East—Jordan in 1970, Lebanon today and the "Saudi oil fields in the next war." Yet changing U.S. global and regional interests require support of conservative Arab regimes, to insure Western oil sources and to further its search for markets and investment possibilities in the region. Thus, pressure on Israel, and the resulting Israeli resistance—"standing up to the Americans"—sows doubts about the prevailing pro-U.S. ideology.

Peace paradox.

Whether in the long run this anger can be channeled by the Israeli left into the beginnings of Israeli anti-imperialist consciousness, into an understanding that the U.S. is more concerned for its own interests than for Israel's fate, remains to be seen. Today, the peace forces, including the left, find themselves in the paradoxical position of hoping that American (and the rest of the world's) pressure will prevent war by forcing the Israeli government to be flexible.

While the Democratic Movement for Change is gambling for its political future by joining the rightist government, the U.S. now seems to be placing bets that the DMC's presence will force Begin to moderate his stand on the occupied territories. The success of this maneuver depends on the strength or weakness of Begin's hand in controlling other Likud members, and perhaps, the strength or weakness of his heart.

David Mandel is an editor of *New Outlook* and a member of Shasi.

THE MIDDLE EAST



The Shah of Iran and Empress Farah wave from their carriage as they ride through the streets of Tehran after their coronation ceremony in 1967. The Shah has been in power since a CIA-backed coup in 1953.

Bloody arrests prepare Shah's visit

By Linda Heiden
Seven Iranians were hospitalized and 17 Iranian Student Association (ISA) members and supporters were arrested in Chicago as 300 Chicago police descended upon the Central YMCA Community College, an ISA stronghold. A local television news commentator said the city had seen nothing like the bloody encounter since the 1968 police riots at the national Democratic party convention.

The Oct. 28 attack was part of a joint campaign activated by American and Iranian government agencies to ensure a cordial welcome for the Shah of Iran during his official state visit Nov. 15-16. At least three multi-million dollar projects have been launched to counter planned ISA demonstrations and protests.

Escalating harassment.

ISA has been the primary group responsible for mobilizing international condemnation of Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi's repressive regime and for bringing extensive pressure to bear against the heavy American military and economic role in Iran. In 1976 ISA members in Europe seized the Iranian consulate in Switzerland, European headquarters for Iran's notorious secret police agency, SAVAK, and smuggled out documents detailing the agency's illegal surveillance and espionage activities against West European government officials and its own citizens abroad, and released their own reports of Iranian assassination squads dispatched around the world.

This past July, when Iran's Empress Farah attempted a public relations tour of the U.S. to restore an image of respectability to the regime, ISA and its supporters followed her with massive demonstrations wherever she went. They succeeded in focusing media attention on the regime's brutality, repression, and lack of popular support among Iranians both inside the country and abroad. As a result, the trip was a complete failure.

To prevent the same embarrassments from marring the Shah's visit, American and Iranian police agencies have escalated their usual harassment of ISA to large-scale, outright attacks on the organization. Gangs of up to 20 SAVAK provocateurs, armed with knives, clubs, and at least one gun, roamed the Central YMCA Community College premises the week of Oct. 24, taunting ISA members, proclaiming their allegiance to the Shah and provoking numerous fights. School officials and city police intervened only when gang members appeared to be threatened physically,

frequently beating selected ISA members in the process.

On Friday, uniformed Chicago police and plainclothes officers entered the school and began beating and arresting key ISA activists, whose pictures they carried openly. When large numbers of students gathered in protest, they too were attacked. Many of those who tried to defend themselves were beaten again at the police station. Three of the seven hospitalized have yet to be released.

"They don't frighten us."

One of the Iranians put this treatment in a larger perspective. "No matter how hard they beat us, their brutality is nothing compared to what political prisoners in Iran must face. They don't frighten us."

Amnesty International estimates that

the Shah's prisons hold at least 100,000 political prisoners under conditions comparable only to those of Chilean prison camps. Hundreds of union organizers and political activists are gunned down in the streets each year, while, despite astronomical oil revenues, millions of Iranians lack even the basic necessities. Under these conditions, the regime faces a growing armed movement inside the country, as well as opposition by Iranians abroad.

Restored to power by a CIA-engineered coup in 1953, the Shah continues to depend on U.S. military arms and assistance to maintain his hold over the country. At the same time, Iranian arms purchases provide the U.S. with important foreign exchange earnings, and are used to control potential and on-going anti-imperialist movements in the region. (Iran's commit-

ment of 30,000 troops to fight Omani revolutionaries is off-set by 35,000 American military "advisors" in Iran, most of whom are Vietnam veterans.)

In the face of growing resistance to the Shah's regime, American and Iranian officials feel forced to provide visible evidence of Iranian support for the Pahlavi government. To this end, self-admitted SAVAK agents are offering an all-expense paid holiday in Washington, including round-trip airfare, hotel and meals plus \$100 in cash, to any Iranian or Iraqi willing to show up at a pro-Shah gathering during the Shah's trip. Six hundred others (reportedly military personnel) are to be flown in directly from Iran for the occasion. Whether the American mass media will fall for these rather transparent tricks remains to be seen.

SOUTH AMERICA

Strike tests Guyana's socialism

**By Jay R. Mandle
and Joan D. Mandle**

GEORGETOWN, GUYANA—In recent years Guyana has proclaimed its commitment to build "socialism." This proclamation, however, was entirely an administrative matter, undertaken by Prime Minister Forbes Burnham and the ruling People's National Congress. Nothing like a revolution or a seizure of power by the working class or its representatives has occurred. As a result, the "non-capitalist path" that Guyana has embarked upon is riddled with conflicts between the socialist rhetoric that emanates from the government and its behavior in administering Guyanese society.

A strike in Guyana's dominant sugar industry is currently testing the government's commitment to socialism.

Several years ago, in an attempt to deny windfall profits to the British owners of the sugar industry, the government imposed a special levy on export earnings. When the industry was nationalized in 1975, that levy was retained. With the levy in place, apparent industry profits can be said to be less than they actually are. That, in turn, means that profit-sharing with the sugar workers can be kept to a minimum. The government claims that this is in order to share the surplus with the whole nation. But close-up the whole operation looks like a bookkeeping sleight-of-hand to shift

income from the strongly unionized sugar workers to a rising new administrative class that uses the state bureaucracy as its institutional base.

Also relevant is the fact that the sugar workers union is the Guyana Agricultural and General Workers Union (GAWU), closely affiliated with Cheddi Jagan's opposition People's Progressive party, and that the union is largely rural and Indo-Guyanese as contrasted to the Afro-Guyanese dominated urban-based PNC government.

When the GAWU called a strike in an attempt to eliminate the levy and receive foregone back-pay, the government and the government-owned sugar company replied with full force. Charging that the strike was political, Burnham ordered the largely Afro-Guyanese army and sections of the police, as well as "volunteers" from government offices into the fields to cut the cane. But cane cutting is an arduous and difficult task, and the would-be strike-breakers have been able to cut only about one-half of the cane that the regular workers would have been able to harvest.

With sugar the country's second most important export (next to government-owned bauxite) this shortfall will mean a foreign exchange crisis. Chronically high unemployment will be aggravated by the crisis. The government has, however, been steadfast in its determination to

break the strike that is now heading into its seventh week. The government wants to retain its own followers in the sugar labour force and weaken the PPP-backed GAWU.

There are some—like members of the Working People's Alliance (WPA), an independent Guyanese socialist organization—who have expressed some concern about the strike's timing. They fear insufficient preparatory work had been done to explain the necessity for the strike action in Guyana's always volatile racial climate. There is some worry that in the eyes of the Afro-Guyanese urban population, the strike will be seen entirely as a sectional conflict.

This concern rekindles fear of a repetition of the horrifying communal warfare that occurred in Guyana in the early '60s between the Indo- and Afro-Guyanese. But the sugar workers have deliberately avoided contesting the right of the army to come into the fields. While a few union organizers and members have been arrested, the strike has been remarkably peaceful, especially in light of the enormous importance of sugar in providing rural employment.

Jay and Joan Mandle are presently living in Guyana. Jay Mandle is a Fulbright scholar at the University of Guyana.

SPAIN

Suarez threatened from all sides

Suarez has been begging Spain's Franco-appointed mayors to stay on, while he fends off opposition from left parties and unions.

By Barbara Mann Franck
Iberian News Service

GIRONA, SPAIN—Faced with runaway inflation, a crisis in the ranks of his center-right coalition, imminent municipal elections and the prospect of a winter of labor conflict, the government of Spanish Premier Adolfo Suarez is running scared. In this atmosphere of pending dissolution of the weakened executive government, the newly-elected Spanish *Cortes* (parliament) has begun meeting to undertake a major legislative overhaul of antiquated laws still in effect from the days of the Franco regime and to approve a constitution.

The official rate of inflation for the month of September was 3.2 percent, with a projected annual rate of over 35 percent for 1977. But a Barcelona daily, *Mundo Diario*, reported that its studies show the buying value of the peseta actually fell 50 percent in the first half of the year. Threatened Spanish capitalists have been clamoring for a program of emergency economic measures and have grown increasingly critical of the government's failure to react.

Suarez has been forced to divert the attention of his Cabinet and advisers away from the economic program, the outlines of which were finally announced in early October, to deal with discord among the centrist parties of his *Union del Centro Democratico* (UCD). The coalition, manufactured by Suarez at the last minute to carry his center-right forces through the June 15 parliamentary elections, is not holding up well under current political and economic pressures. Some key parties have criticized Suarez publicly.

Suarez needs unified backing to survive, and the coalition must be strengthened and expanded in order not to be wiped out in the upcoming municipal elections. These elections, promised for October, are being postponed to give Suarez time to extend his political base to confront the economic situation.

Mayors resigning.

The UCD holds an absolute majority in the *Cortes*, thanks as much to the 41 senators (a fifth of the upper house) appointed by King Juan Carlos I as to the seats it won in the election. With only a plurality in the lower house, the UCD faces strong opposition from socialist, communist and national groups who fared surprisingly well in the elections in spite of undemocratic electoral practices (See *ITT*, Sept. 14).

The opposition parties are already active at the municipal level, undertaking public campaigns to expose the corrupt practices of mayors and councils. Current town governments consist of Franco appointees. They are practically unable to function. Lacking a public mandate, backed only by the fragile central government and attacked from the left, they are beginning to resign in droves. Suarez called an emergency meeting in early October of 40 mayors of Madrid suburbs who had threatened to resign *en masse*. He begged them to stay on.

Unions attack pact.

To carry out economic measures the Suarez government must have the support of other major political factions. In an attempt to win such support, UCD presented an emergency package to all parties represented in the *Cortes* on Oct. 8 and 9. Under the agreement reached by the

government and the parties, salary increases will be held to 20 percent in 1978, and the government will attempt to hold the annual increase in the consumer Price Index to 22 percent. If a company should be forced by its workers to grant more than a 20 percent increase, it will be allowed to fire 5 percent of its employees!

The document released to the press outlining these economic accords was written jointly by representatives of the UCD, the *Partido Socialista Obrero Espanol* (PSOE, Felipe Gonzalez' Socialist Workers party), the *Partido Comunista Espanol* (Santiago Carillo's PCE), the far-rightist *Alianza Popular* and the small *Partido Socialista Popular* (headed by Tierno Galvan).

The recently legalized trade unions have attacked this "economic pact" because they were not included in the negotiations. Their exclusion was part of the government's strategy, and Suarez is now counting on the PCE and the PSOE to win union support for the austerity program.

A total of 221 collective contracts are to come up for renewal in January 1978. They will affect some of the most conflict-ridden industries, including metallurgy,

which has a long history of tough strikes. With pay increases to be held way below this year's rate of inflation, contract negotiations promise to be difficult. Spanish workers are in no condition or mood to settle for harsh measures now that the euphoria of their election victories in June has become frustration with the government's failure to enact meaningful reforms.

Socialists won't participate.

By far the largest of the now-legal unions is the *Comisiones Obreras* (the CC.OO., Workers Commissions). The CC.OO.'s strategy during the negotiations of collective contracts and related labor conflicts will be crucial. The CC.OO. is under the hegemony of the PCE. The PSOE controls the somewhat smaller *Union General de Trabajadores* (UGT, General Workers Union).

The CC.OO. has already announced basic support for the economic program, calling it "an important step to getting out of a situation that is worsening by the moment." The UGT, on the other hand, denounces the agreements "which attempt to make the solution of the economic crisis

fall once again on the backs of the workers."

Although the PSOE finished better than the PCE in the June 15 elections, the PCE's union strength gives the Communists added weight in negotiations with the government. Once the details of the economic pact have been settled and it has been presented to the *Cortes*, Suarez plans to seek a "political pact." The PCE is negotiating for the formation of a "government of national concentration" similar to the formula of the Italian Communists. Under the PCE proposal, representatives of all the major political forces that won seats in the elections would participate in the executive government. In the absence of such a government, the Communists warn Suarez, he will have no success in enforcing any economic measures.

The PSOE says it will not participate in such a coalition government. Instead, the Socialists are holding out for a chance to take power on their own, following the model of Portugal. However, because of the PSOE's historic role in the Republic and Civil War, it has been able to develop a good working class base and otherwise stands to the left of Portuguese socialists.



Schoolchildren flee an Oct. 18 guerrilla ambush of government troops near Mangua.

Wide World

CENTRAL AMERICA

'Somoza was shaken to the roots'

By Frank Maurovich

Two prominent Nicaraguans living in the U.S., both accused by President Anastasio Somoza of plotting to set up a Marxist government for the strife-ridden Central American country, say that the 41-year-old Somoza dynasty is toppling under "unprecedented public opposition."

Catholic priest Miguel d'Escoto of New York and architect Casimiro Sotelo of California said charges that they are planning any provisional government are "premature." They also denied that guerrilla fighters aim to impose a Marxist regime in Nicaragua, or that the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) has a Cuba connection. The FSLN renewed operations against government troops two weeks ago.

In separate interviews with Pacific News Service, Sotelo and d'Escoto said the guerrillas aim to establish democracy after toppling the "military dictatorship," as they called the Somoza regime. They said the present government has such broad-based opposition now that only U.S. military aid is keeping it in power. Both predicted an all-out civil war.

The two men described the FSLN—named after Gen. Augusto Cesar Sandino, who

fought against the 20-year presence of U.S. Marines in Nicaragua 50 years ago—as a tightly knit (about 1,000 members), well organized, well armed fighting force determined to wage "prolonged popular war."

Although refusing to divulge names, the two Nicaraguans acknowledged they had been in recent contact with FSLN leaders. "The FSLN has been active for 16 years," Sotelo said, "but what is unprecedented is the growing public opposition of church, labor and political groups."

Sotelo, son of a former congressman, and d'Escoto, son of a veteran diplomat, were accused along with ten other well-known Nicaraguans of being part of a Marxist plot to overthrow the government. The accusation was made after an appeal by the 12 was published in *La Prensa* calling on "all conscientious Nicaraguans" to unite in opposition to "the repressive forces of the dynastic government." The statement, which included the signatures of wealthy and conservative businessmen, educators and lawyers as well as of two clergymen, stated that "a solution that will guarantee a permanent and lasting peace cannot be achieved with-

out the participation of the FSLN."

According to d'Escoto, many prominent Nicaraguans, including a senator and four congressmen, endorsed the statement published three days after the FSLN launched attacks against National Guard troops near the Costa Rican border in the south, the Honduran border in the north and Managua, the capital.

"The reaction has shaken Somoza to the roots," the 44-year-old missionary claimed, "because there was no indication before of such broadly based support for the Sandinista movement."

Sotelo estimates that over 90 percent of the two million population in the country is opposed to the present government. He says that Somoza appears in public rarely, and then only speaks from behind a thick, bullet-proof window.

The mid-October FSLN offensive was apparently timed to take advantage of protests against U.S. military aid as well as reported internal struggle within the regime for a successor to the 51-year-old leader, who was hospitalized in July with a serious heart ailment.

Frank Maurovich is the former editor of the Lima, Peru-based *Latinamerica Press*.

Sandy Sizelove, a 36-year-old woman with a slight quaver of voice, stood up. "I've got a brother that's a scab," she said tersely. "Whatever happens to him or any other scab, they deserve it."

Why can't we holler? This is America!

By David Moberg

I. On strike in "Middle America"

"This is the first strike we've ever had," Georgia Ellis explained as we walked into the cavernous white hall of the Elwood, Ind., armory. "Before we've just accepted whatever they offered. But last winter, when it was so cold, people could either heat the house or buy groceries. They couldn't do both."

There were only a few men among the hundred grim-faced strikers sitting on folding chairs, waiting for the Sunday afternoon meeting to begin. Most of the women were at least middle-aged. Their hair, often greying or dyed closer to youthful hues, was usually in a tight permanent, although a few younger women favored shag cuts or the Dolly Parton style.

Although most of the scattered men present were in hunting and outdoors work clothes, the women were generally dressed with a careful, economical neatness. It was part of their effort at maintaining respectable appearances despite their meager pay of \$2.76 an hour for operating presses that stamp out small plastic parts for automobile electrical systems.

For the past seven months they have received even less. They have been on strike against the Essex Group, a branch of United Technologies. (The country's twelfth largest corporate employer and number 35 on the Fortune 500 list of industrial giants, United Technologies gave its president Harry J. Gray the top sum for any business executive last year, \$1,662,000.)

While on strike the 222 members of United Auto Workers local 1663 have confronted armed private security guards, sheriff's police and state police. They have battled strikebreakers with their bodies, fists, rocks, clubs and their full arsenal of abusive language, usually followed by the epithet "scab." They have been shot at, wounded, beaten, rammed by cars and trucks going through picket lines, assaulted in their homes, arrested and threatened with worse. At times they have retaliated with gunshots as well.

This is all taking place in what myth-makers call "middle America." Elwood is a virtually all-white town of 12,000 in the midst of cornfields, the birthplace of Wendell Wilkie, and only a few miles from Muncie, made famous as "Middletown" by the sociological studies of Robert and Helen Lynd in the '20s and '30s.

Yet, for all the anti-union sentiment and conservative local politics, it is a heavily unionized area. At one point it was nearly as important in the auto industry as Michigan. It is also an area that has seen harsh labor-management conflict, from a famous auto sit-down strike in Anderson in the '30s to a violent 53-week strike in 1970-71 to win a contract at the Ex-Cello plant in Elwood.

Women make up 85 percent of the Essex workforce. Most are raising families on their own, bolstering the incomes of a poorly paid husband or fending for themselves as widowed grandmothers.

The jobs at the green corrugated steel plant that Essex built just outside the city limits may not seem very desirable, considering the low pay, lack of a pension, limit-

ed insurance, absence of cost-of-living protection, heavy and noxious fumes and dust from the presses, and the intolerable heat—reaching 130 degrees at times and causing women regularly to collapse in the summer.

Yet jobs are hard to find in the area, which is dotted with small towns and cities dependent primarily on factory work. It is especially hard for women, worse if they're considered old.

Originally the strike was mainly over money and benefits. Essex workers wanted more than the 62 cents over three years that the company offered—a package that would put them only slightly ahead of the new minimum wage.

Now the focus of the strike has changed. Strikers are determined to force out all or most of the 60 or more strikebreakers and to regain jobs and seniority positions for everyone who wants to go back, including 11 people fired during the strike for "picketline misconduct." They also want to restore contractual protection that Essex took away.

Sting lessened by strikebreakers.

The sixth contract offer from the company, made the previous week in Detroit, was not even put up for a vote at the meeting, since it was identical in all but the tiniest details—changed to give the appearance of "good faith bargaining"—from the five contracts previously turned down by large margins. That rejection has come despite recommendations by regional UAW officials to accept the most recent proposals as bad but the best that can be won.

With the factory at least partly operating on non-union labor now, the strike has lost some of its sting to Essex. In any case, the company has its 26,000 employees scattered among 155 small plants, over half of them unorganized and the remainder represented by a half-dozen different unions. That lessens the power of workers in any one of the factories of the extremely profitable corporation, which earned a 21 percent return on investment in early 1976, the last figures available for Essex as a separate operation.

Infamous as a "union buster" and tough negotiator, Essex has not only relied on scabs to break strikes but has even shut down plants and moved them away during contract negotiations, as they did twice in Indiana in 1976.

Paul Couch, the 29-year-old, black-bearded union president, told the meeting that the local was looking for new weapons to use against Essex. They are appealing the rejection of their claim of unfair labor practices by the local office of the National Labor Relations Board in hopes of having the strike declared an "unfair labor practice strike" and forcing out the scabs. The local is also checking into possibilities of legal secondary boycotts and sympathy strikes or job actions.

With the help of the National Organization of Women, one of several feminist groups that have joined dozens of union locals in support of the Elwood strikers, they are considering a sex discrimination suit against Essex.

The union might also try to reopen the two injunctions that have limited the number and manner of their pickets on the

grounds that the company has brought armed strikebreakers across state lines.

"In England, they took the supervisor and plant manager hostage and locked them in," Couch said. "That's what we should have done." There was a loud burst of applause and laughter. Georgia Ellis whispered, "If they were with me for a week, they'd give up everything."

Split families.

In the middle of the disjointed flood of complaints and advice from the floor, Sandy Sizelove, a 36-year-old woman with a strained look on her face and a slight quaver of distress in her voice, stood up. "I've got a brother that's a scab," she said tersely. "Whatever happens to him or any other scab, they deserve it."

"That's her baby brother," Ellis commented. "That's hard for her to say." Such strained relationships are common in this strike: Ellis' son is a foreman working in the plant while his mother is the leading spokesperson for the strike.

Even more than food, money, food stamps and Thanksgiving turkeys, the main concern of every one was the scabs. "What are we going to do to get them out?" a woman in a checked coat pleaded. "We sit there at the gates like dumb butts. We aren't going to get anything till we get them out."

Others reported that unemployment offices in the area had been sending people to Essex, and one striker—just to check—was even told by her unemployment office to apply for a job at Essex.

Some people wanted to leaflet the scabs and talk to them, although they usually speed through the picket line. "This does not mean violence," Crouch warned. "It means saying, 'Scabs, one of these days you're going to be sorry.'"

"What do you mean? We can't holler?" a woman complained. "This is America."

Ellis, a 47-year-old grandmother of six and amateur poet, turned to me to explain the problems the local union had in getting information out through the Elwood newspaper, renamed by strikers the *Essex Call-Leader*. Her husband paid \$68 for an ad with her union message. "That's my Christmas present for this year," she said. "I'm going to hang it on my tree."

Despite the affirmations of solidarity, there was a war-weariness evident. "I'm getting to the point where something's got to give," one woman said later. "I'm not going to cross the picket line and I'm not going to be a scab. But something's got to give."

II. Scabs and violence.

Everybody knew that Essex was a tough customer when they decided to strike last spring, but they were amazed and personally transformed by the experience that followed.

Just before the strike date approached, the company built a chain link fence topped with barbed wire around the plant. Security guards were stationed at the gates to guarantee passage of trucks and supervisory personnel. Pickets tried to

stop some of the traffic and various scuffles occurred, some reportedly involving rock throwing or gunfire from each side.

By early June the company was actively advertising throughout the area for new employees. Strikers say the company probably expected that their resolve would collapse within a month or two. Women, especially older women, just didn't seem like formidable opposition, but they grew tough through the confrontation and now call themselves "Charlie's Angels" and "Fighting Grannies," the monicker on the back of some t-shirts.

Sheriff supports company.

Bringing in the strikebreakers triggered immense hostility at the people "stealing our jobs," but the Madison County sheriff had his men in place to keep the gates open. "They're the sons of bitches that caused us all the problems," UAW international representative James Johnson said. "The sheriff of that county put his deputies on permanent assignment to guard that plant and keep it open, even when he wasn't called."

At one point an Essex security guard was arrested—the sole arrest of a company agent compared with over 90 arrests of strikers—for making false reports of violence, an indication that the company wanted enough trouble going at all times to justify police guarantees of safe passage for strikebreakers.

Security guards reportedly pelted pickets with ball bearings shot with "wrist rockets" and fired over the heads of strikers from gun slits cut in the side of the building. For their part, Georgia Ellis said, "We tried to stop scab cars. We stood in front of them. We picketed. If we did anything, we were arrested. If we were hit, they'd say, 'See the prosecutor.'" Rocks, bottles and, by some accounts, gunfire also were returned toward the plant.

The arrival of strike breakers was provocative, but since some of the first non-union workers were blacks, the tension was even greater. Essex had hired almost no blacks during its 11 years in Elwood, a town known as a center of Ku Klux Klan activity in Indiana. The same tactic of social confrontation had been used by Essex in a violent 1964 strike in Hillsdale, Mich. Although soon most of the blacks quit and union officials contained racial hostilities, the Klan showed up uninvited to offer "moral support."

Why did the company hire strikebreakers? "It's simply a matter of good business," Essex spokesman Tom Castaldi said. "Our obligation is to serve our customers, which of course makes it possible to have a plant."

The new, non-union workforce now is much younger than before. There are also far fewer women. So far only three strikers have gone back to work, all of them men.

Confrontation and violence.

On July 6 the local union counted 88 strikebreakers going into the plant. They feared that the company might try to call a union decertification vote and were angry at the growing workforce displacing them. There was a tense confrontation at the plant gates that afternoon between a



UAW Solidarity Photo

crowd of 150-200 strikers and the departing strikebreakers. That evening the sheriff announced that he could no longer control the situation and withdrew his men.

Although 11 Essex guards and supervisors stayed behind in the plant, sheriff's deputies returned the next morning to escort them out, according to the union. They stayed in, later to be joined by other guards, some of whom were brought in under cover of an attack with clubs and fire hoses on the picket line.

For several days, there was an exchange of missiles, then the climax came very early in the morning of Monday, July 11. At 2 a.m. shots rang out after a group of picketers had been diverted by a commotion down the road. Carol Frye, 25, who had her back turned toward the factory, screamed and fell to the ground with a bullet lodged in her back near her spine. Picketers say they saw two guards running back to the plant with the aid of a rocket flare set off immediately after the shooting.

Although several other strikers were hit by buckshot, one husband of a striker was shot in the hand and a supervisor reportedly was grazed by a bullet. Frye's injury was by far the most serious in the seven months.

The governor then ordered in state police, but unlike George Romney, who was governor of Michigan during the Hillsdale Essex strike, Bowen did not shut down the plant, claiming he did not want to get involved.

Strikers charged that the violence was a set-up to break their strike. "You've got to have enough violence for the state police to be called in," Ellis said. "We felt that the whole thing was cold-bloodedly calculated as a deliberate action. They didn't care who was shot."

The picket line confrontations quieted down for a while. State police are now gone, but the violence hasn't ended. On Oct. 12, Georgia Ellis was in the bedroom in the modest home on the northwest side of Elwood that serves as a haven for neighborhood kids.

"It was the first time all summer I'd been home alone," she said. "About 10:30 I came out of the bedroom and there was a man standing there in the kitchen. He just started beating me. He hit me under the chin, grabbed my hair and twisted and back-handed me a couple of times. Then he pushed me up against the cabinet and the window flew up. He must have thought someone was coming in and he started out the back. He never said a word, never took a thing, just did what they threatened all along—beat the hell out of me."

Essex officials denied any involvement

in the beating, just as they earlier denied responsibility for the shooting of Carol Frye.

Want to regain on concessions.

Meanwhile, local union leaders are trying to hold their forces together and to salvage the best contract they can. They are upset that in order "to get the company into an economic corner" in the negotiations and improve the money offer, they accepted advice from the international to give up a multitude of important restraints on management power.

They conceded in the talks, but now want to regain: an automatic rotation of work on the machines every two weeks in order to prevent favoritism by foremen and to lessen boredom, toilet breaks, right to investigate grievances in as much detail as necessary, the job-bidding procedure, a clause against sub-contracting, a job training promise, the right to wear shorts in the plant and many more items—all traded off in the hope of more money in the sadly classic manner of much recent union bargaining.

Some union officials fear the strike may just "die on the vine." If it is not settled by next April, the company could arrange a union decertification election and strikers would no longer be eligible to vote.

"The unemployment rate is what's killing us," Couch says. "With it so high, it's easy to get scabs." The laws, and their enforcement in a prejudicial manner by the state, also gives the strikers little protection and virtually no weapons to use against scabbing.

"With the money for attorneys, scab labor, guards and all, Essex would be far better off giving this to us in a raise—and they'd still make a profit," Couch says. "But I've figured since April 6 the corporation intentionally prepared to take us on and destroy the union. Right now our hands are tied. All we've got to fight with is our solidarity, and it's still there."

III. A brutal awakening.

Solidarity is high, although some strikers are becoming more fearful of losing their jobs altogether. Many others are so bitter that they might never go back—or else walk in for one day just to show that they had won. Yet there is a legacy as well of much deeper union feeling (despite some disillusionment with the UAW, which everyone had hoped would be far better than the Carpenters union that represented them seven years ago). And many

women from Elwood Essex will never be the same again.

Sue Vautaw was standing in the early morning chill outside the factory with her husband, an Essex maintenance man, and three other picketers, scolding their mascot, Striker, for getting close to the scabs and guards.

"We do the same things as they do at Delco," she said, "and there they make \$5 or \$6 an hour. We send our parts there, and Essex is in the middle, taking all the profit. It's not fair that a big local can keep out scabs and we can't."

"I keep thinking, where are the laws that are supposed to protect people?" They're all for the corporation.

"I don't think Essex thought we'd stick together. There was so much bickering in the plant. Now it's more caring about each other. We didn't realize we cared so much about each other until we went on strike. That lady next to me that I was trying to beat out of the job last night, well, she needs new shoes just like me. I didn't realize there were that many friendships. I didn't know anyone really very well before the strike. Now you feel you can go up and talk to anybody."

New concern for law and politics.

"I've given Essex the best years of my life," a 59-year-old woman with 11 years seniority says. "They've prospered and I've lost. I feel I deserve more money. I feel I deserve to live as well as the people in management do. But there's only one way I'll go back in—scabs and guards out first. I'm an old lady. Jobs are hard to come by. But I'll do most anything other than go back in there under those conditions."

Sandy Reveal, divorced, 35, mother of four, had one of the better jobs at Essex but found it nearly impossible to support five people on \$121 a week take home pay. A loyal supporter of the strike, she is now working at another factory making over twice what she got at Essex. Before that she had been beaten over the head with a 50-pound log while on the picket line and struck by a rock thrown by a guard.

She was most "disappointed and disillusioned with the law, 'cause the poor working American don't have a chance. They have laws to protect the company rights but they don't have laws to protect our rights. And where would all these big companies be if everybody stayed at home a day or two?"

Never interested in politics before, she now sees the need for people like herself to elect politicians responsible to them. "The politicians and people running things have forgotten one thing: it takes the little peo-

ple to put them in office and the little people can put them out. There's more of us hard-working Americans than the fat, rich, stingy Americans."

Reveal sees the scabbing at Essex as part of a trend, at least in that part of Indiana, toward strikebreaking. She ticked off a list of three other strikes in the vicinity broken by scabbing this year—Warner Press, Brockway Glass, Pierce Governor. Yet she has at least learned a lesson: "I would never cross a picket line or never buy anything made by anybody on strike."

Did she feel that way before? "Nope. I guess I didn't care about others either."

Doubt and self-confidence.

Mary Lovell, 52, was originally reluctant to strike. Now she is temporarily back at her old job as a cook, making \$1.25 an hour.

But considering the pay in her cook's job, even Essex seems attractive, and she fears that people who don't need the job as much as she feels she does will prolong the strike and lose her job. "I was right in there with them as long as there seemed to be something to fight for, but now there doesn't seem to be anything. I hope I'm wrong. It's got me so I don't know what to do."

Essex does know. The plant manager scribbled hand-written but identical notes at the bottom of the recent "final offer" from the company: "Dear Mary, I would really appreciate your coming back to work."

For many of the women, the strike has brought a new self-confidence, a conviction of their rights and some bitter lessons in power and its abuse. It has changed the images of themselves as women, too.

"I think those young kids recently hired gave us the guts to go out," Georgia Ellis said. "They knew we had to have more. They kept us thinking we had strength in a union. Most of us had never fought for anything before, except our kids."

"I don't think until the strike we thought much about women's rights or women's liberation. We were raised in the wrong generation. We believed a woman got married, had kids and if she worked, it was on the side. These other women have shown us we can speak up. I never talked up for anything in my life before. I know now that I have rights, that I am a person and I am worthwhile."

"We were in a kind of cocoon before. We got out of that cocoon kind of roughly, but we are butterflies now."

UAW Local 1663 can be contacted at P.O. Box 179, Elwood, Ind., 46036.

IN THESE TIMES

Editorial

Our first year: a harbinger of good things

With this issue **IN THESE TIMES** completes its first year of publication. In that short time we have established ourselves as the most relevant newspaper on the socialist left and have begun to translate our dream of a new popular socialist journalism into reality. We have attained a paid circulation of 11,000, and will more than double that in the next year. We have hundreds of active supporters among our readers. And under the national co-chairmanship of Rep. John Conyers, Jr., and Studs Terkel, **IN THESE TIMES** Associate chapters are being organized in 32 cities.

Our political support, which ranges over the whole non-sectarian left, also indicates that our prepublication estimates of the potential for a revival of a popular movement for socialism in the U.S. were valid.

We began publication as an independent socialist newspaper on the assumption that the existing socialist parties and groups, either singly or as a whole, were inadequate as a basis for a popular socialist politics in the U.S. Indeed, our estimate was that much in the politics of these parties and groups posed a major barrier to the revival of a popular movement for socialism in this country.

We think this estimate is still sound, as also our view that there is a greater potential for an anti-capitalist and pro-socialist politics in the U.S. than ever before in American history.

So far, we have barely scratched the surface of our potential support and use by social and political activists. But we think it is an impressive beginning. Left Democrats, members and leaders of the National Organization for Women, the Conference for Alternative Policies, the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, the Campaign for Economic Democracy, the New American Movement, the ACLU, the National Lawyers Guild, regional groups like the Clamshell Alliance, the Midwest Academy and a range of ecology, consumer protection and other organizations read and use **IN THESE TIMES** in their activity.

In addition, for the first time in decades

We have barely scratched the surface of our potential support and use by social and political activists, but we think it is an impressive beginning.

an openly socialist newspaper is beginning to be read and used by trade unionists, from rank and file activists to shop stewards to national leaders like Ed Sadlowski.

In short, we are living up to our prepublication promise to be relevant to the concerns of hundreds of thousands of Americans active in all spheres of our society, and in a way that makes these activists want to use **IN THESE TIMES**.

We realize that encouraging as this beginning is, it is just a beginning. We have a long way to go before we can play a significant role in helping to shape the politics of the United States. In fact, we have a way to go before we can feel secure about our own survival and growth, and be satisfied with our coverage and analysis of the news and of social and political trends. But the large number of expressions of support and constructive criticism that we have received from our readers has helped to convince us that we are on the right track, just as it has inspired us to stay on track by improving the paper's quality and by doing everything we can to increase our circulation.

In a time when the traditional left organizations seem to be stagnating or declining, and in which the conservative right is enjoying increasing influence, if not increased popular support, we take the response to our existence as a harbinger of good things to come, both for ourselves and for the American people.

IN THESE TIMES

Vol. 1, No. 1

Nov. 15-21, 1977

The Independent Socialist Newspaper

40 cents

Politicians get foreign aid—from Korean CIA

By Sarah James

And Tim France

Washington Bureau

Washington. Relations between the U.S. and South Korea have been thrown into question by recent revelations that South Korea operated a wide-ranging network of intelligence gathering and repression inside the U.S. and that South Korean agents have bribed U.S. congressmen.

There is speculation that the revelations, most of which originated in leaks from government sources, are not coincidental, but represent the beginnings of an American policy shift concerning the Park Chung Hee regime in South Korea. The revelations are seen as reflecting both the anger of American policymakers at "highly improper" interference in American affairs and their concern that the Park regime is not fundamentally stable and secure.

The U.S. currently maintains 40,000 troops in South Korea and there is widespread fear that if they were to be removed—at President-elect Carter's hint—the Park regime has so little support that it would be unable to sustain itself.

According to this interpretation, the leaks are seen as warnings to Park to change his policies and to stop trying to

influence American policy. As former ambassador to Japan Edwin O. Reischauer says, "What is going on in Korea right now is making Korea a harder place to defend against the North.... Conceivably President Park has it in him to change course.... If he can't do it, there probably are others that could."

The various leaks and revelations, however, have revealed a wide variety of questionable activities by South Korean officials and agents in the U.S. and, until now, the apparent unwillingness of the government to put a stop to them.

—A list of 90 congressmen.

The current inquiry centers on a Washington-based Korean entrepreneur named Tongsun Park. Park, who came to the U.S. as a student in the late '50s and began working for the Korean CIA in 1965, reportedly has dispensed \$500,000 to \$1 million to legislators during the past few years.

Government sources, corroborated by Korean sources quoted in the *New York Times*, report that Park met in Dec. 1971 with Korean President Park Chung Hee. Col. Pak Bo Hi of the Korean Cultural and Freedom Foundation—also chief adviser and translator for the Rev. Sun

Continued on page 14

In this issue

Jamaica—another socialist island? 3
Coming election will determine new nation's path

Left revival in Bay Area 6
New movement based in community focuses on election

China's new direction 11
Mao's relatives and appointed successors silenced

50,000 tenants can't be wrong 12
The largest, most successful rent strike in history

Albert Maltz on a popular front 17
Blacklisted Hollywood writer reviews Woody Allen



Ching Ch'ing and Chairman Mao: She was the most hated and he was the most revered person in China. Page 11.



Ron Dellums: "I think democratic socialism will prevail in this country because it makes an enormous amount of sense." Page 8. These Photos by Olan Crowder



Ronald Reagan and Robert Taylor: They both hated Communists and Communist sympathizers in Hollywood (seen in earlier, unhappier days). Page 17.

Free speech and socialist democracy

The continuing debate over civil liberties in these pages demonstrates that socialists are as much divided on this question as are partisans of capitalism. Just as the latter have their "Hamiltonians" and "Jeffersonians" (and shades of opinion in between), so with American socialists.

Some readers and our columnist Joshua Dressler (*ITT*, Oct. 26) think that our position in support of the ACLU in the case of Nazi activities in Skokie, Illinois, presumes a belief that "the law is neutral." Nothing can be further from the truth. It is a false issue. It is because the impact and enforcement of laws are not "neutral" that we have argued the dangers of supporting laws restricting liberties. For even where such laws in this country have been initially enacted ostensibly to curb right-wingers they have been used much more consistently, and tenaciously against the liberties of people on the left.

But it is essential to our position that the defense of *rights* is not the defense of license to commit wrongs. The demand for the punishment of Nazis, Ku Kluxers, government officials, or any others, who engage in criminal acts, including attempts to deprive others of their civil rights and liberties, is integral to the effort to preserve and strengthen civil liberties. Our editorials have emphasized this point, as well as the right of

people to protect their rights and liberties where the law or lawful authority does not.

A study of history will show that freedom of speech and association is not the cause of racism or its spread, that, on the contrary, short of revolutionary war, free speech has been the most potent weapon against racism and other anti-democratic doctrines and movements. Racist and fascist movements have come to power in countries lacking a strong tradition of civil liberties and in the course of suppressing freedom of speech and association (this includes the American South). This is not to say that fascism cannot come to power in the U.S., only that the more the American people exercise their democratic rights and liberties the more difficult it will be for an American brand of fascism to prevail.

But this is not merely an instrumental or "pragmatic" question. It goes deeper.

In making their case, some of our critics have, necessarily we think, resorted to the broader assertion that freedom of speech is not an "absolute" or "end in itself." Posing the question in this way obscures more than it clarifies. The real question, we believe, is whether freedom of speech is essential not only to the movement for socialism in the U.S. today, but also to the type of socialist society that we are committed to and that we

recommend to the American people.

We believe it is essential for the following reasons:

- Only through open ideological struggle will the people most effectively mobilize against racism and other anti-democratic doctrines now and in a future socialist society.

- Freedom of speech, the press, and association is central to the idea and practice of socialism as a society that expands freedom. To us, freedom means a self-determining people deepening their consciousness and power through participating in ideological struggle and public affairs.

The idea that "free speech...is a means to an end, free speech for the left" (Dressler), is a meaningless principle and a dangerous doctrine. It is meaningless as a principle because it is impossible to define "the left"—even leftists cannot agree on its definition. It is a dangerous doctrine because it nourishes authoritarian and bigoted attitudes that make open debate (ideological struggle) impossible, and, it speciously identifies leftism or socialism with state or party dictation of permissible views.

It is therefore also dangerous to the cause of socialism among the American people, because it strengthens an identity of socialism with arbitrary power and

authoritarian tyranny that has fed American antagonism to socialism and the American people's acquiescence in capitalism.

For socialists, the question of civil liberties is one of principles, attitudes, expectations, and political behavior, not only for the socialist movement today but also for a socialist society that the movement aims to bring into being.

The commitment to civil liberties is as integral to the struggle for socialism as the commitment to public ownership of the means of production. It is because freedom of speech, the press and association, or its restriction, will determine the form and content of a publicly planned political economy. Without these freedoms a society democratically shaped and controlled by the working people will be impossible. In its place, regardless of public ownership, society will be oligarchic or bureaucratic, controlled by party, managerial, or technocratic elites.

The belief in democratic socialism is a belief in the working class struggle for liberty as integral to its struggle for equality. It is a belief in the sovereignty of the people in a socialist democracy. It is a belief that we affirm and that underlies our position in the debate on civil liberties. □

Letters

Conservative and oppressive

Editor:

Sexism continues to be an element of *ITT*. The latest instance is John Judis' feature on punk rock (*ITT*, Nov. 2). Judis passes lightly over the fact that punk rock "has its B&D freaks and its brutal misogynists." His analysis of punk rock ends on a note of sympathy and quiet admiration: "There is much to learn from and enjoy in punk rock." This lack of concern for the dimension of sexual inequality and oppression is depressingly typical.

Judis also is sexist in tying the "degeneration" of Elvis Presley to the fact that Elvis was always in part a "mama's boy." This derogatory construct — mama's boy — is misogynistic itself. No wonder Judis doesn't make an issue of the anti-woman element of punk rock.

The socialism of *ITT* in general is inadequately concerned with the exploitation and oppression of female people. Labor coverage has a male emphasis, despite the fact that non-white women comprise the cellar in the capitalist wage hierarchy with white women next to the bottom. Perhaps if you would focus more on non-unionized labor the results would be less sexist.

It is also offensive that *ITT* uses the title **WOMEN** over articles that contain material on the oppression of female people. The article on wife-beating (Sept. 28) is just as much a human and political issue as the article on police brutality towards Kentucky miners in the Nov. 2 issue. The fact that *ITT* saw fit to print **WOMEN** over the wife-beating article is testimony to the fact that the rest of the newspaper is ordinarily concerned with issues arising out of the male experience of capitalism and domination. The beaten wife is a brutalized worker, no less than the attacked miner.

There is no excuse for ignorance and insensitivity to the force of sexism and male domination and its place in a capitalist system—there have been plenty of analyses written. Until the staff of *ITT* begin educating themselves on these issues the paper remains in part conservative and oppressive.

—Joanne Corbett
Boston

Left (right?)

Editor:

Joshua Dressler states (*ITT*, Oct. 26) that, to him, defending free speech for Nazis is "a means to an end, free speech for the left." Harshly put, that is the Nazi position, too, substituting "right" for "left."

The point is that the civil libertarian view of free speech is not that its purpose is merely individualistic self-indulgence. Its purpose is to correct false speech with more speech, to be a tool for people to keep open an informed, critical democratic process.

With all its flaws, I'll go that route rather than submit myself to the rule of "free speech for the left (right)," which can only mean whatever the authoritarian in power wishes it to mean at that moment. After all, maybe my looking-glass "left" is the wrong left (right-left/right-right), some of us being more equal than others on this here animal farm.

Josh also sets up a straw man. The American Civil Liberties Union does not, in my longish memory, "cling to the belief that law is neutral," as he asserts. However, we do try to push the law to live up to its rhetoric in that respect, and that has accomplished a lot for the "outs."

But those of us who are socialists know—as I tell my anti-Bakke friends—

that this economic system is not going to bring social justice. That's why we are also democratic socialists. Right? (Left?)

The rest of the column was dead right (live left?).

—Edwin L. Laing
Santa Barbara, Calif.

Socialist protectionism?

Editor:

Your editorial (*ITT*, Nov. 2) might have some basis if the working class USA were struggling for socialism while workers throughout the rest of the world abhorred the idea. But it's not that way.

The weird economics of protectionism is part of the old game of divide and disorient the working class to keep on plucking them. There is no point in trying to shuffle unemployment around from one geographic area to another, inside national boundaries or outside of them. If we could bring the jobs from country X here and shove our unemployment there, wages would thereby be pushed down in X and our employers, whether they were greedy capitalists or liberal state-capitalist bureaucrats, would ask us to take a cut in pay so we could compete in the markets of countries A, B & C against the lowered X wage rates. Or if, by tariff or boycott, we keep the products of X out of the U.S. to save jobs here in industries L, M & O, we can expect lay-offs here in industries R, S & T that used to sell stuff to X. Surely there is some more rational way to see that we all eat.

The valid union approach is that workers should stick together and not go to bed with the boss, on the tariff or any other issue. We live in a world market and need to extend union principles to that world market. If we do, we can soon stop worrying about unemployment and concentrate on how four billion people and their descendants are going to have good times on this round ball.

—Fred Thompson
Chicago

News to the people of China

Editor:

David Milton's pronouncements (*ITT*, Oct. 12) about the "conservative regime" that has emerged in China since Mao's death bear a striking resemblance to the insights of other China watchers that have gone up in smoke over the years.

Visions of Chinese social and economic policies distinctly flavored by "revisionism" have become a major theme among Milton's fellow practitioners of the art of reading the stars. Some, like Milton, have spent a few years in China at one time and come away frustrated because the Chinese don't behave in the manner approved by a conservative or liberal Westerner or by a "radical" teacher of English in Peking hailing from the U.S.

Flat statements served up as gospel truth in the Milton article pound the reader's pulse—an exhausted post-Mao China; the new technological and political elite; new efforts to subordinate the peasantry; complete repudiation of the "maoist policy" of broadening participation in factory administration by workers; one man was responsible for arresting Chiang Ching; Mao reverted to the "feudal politics" of 2,000 years of Chinese history.

All this and more, the crystal ball implies, are turning China away from a truly revolutionary path: "Order, unity and economic progress," after years of turmoil and the influence of Chiang Ching and her cohorts in any number of fields including the economy, are made to sound like dirty words.

From his vantage point in San Francisco, Milton assures us that the present mood of China's people is resignation! They "must now feel that if they must again be ruled by an elite, let it at least be competent."

This indeed is news to the people of China, as is the fantasy that their country is "exhausted." If anything, developments in China since last autumn have

brought on new expectations of socialist advance.

I was still in China at the time of the fall of the "gang of four" in October 1976 and a half year after that. I'd say the mood of the Chinese, following the enormous popular relief and elation at the gang's demise, is one of great hope that the nation can again get down to the job of building socialism.

Whether what is happening in China is what "experts" like Milton are now saying, time will tell.

—Julian Schuman
San Francisco

Is this a sound comparison?

Editor:

The continuing controversy over the *ITT* support of the ACLU-American Nazi party position in Illinois prompts this letter.

It appears to me that the issue has been debated to this point primarily in terms of theory and principle. I am more concerned with the action, if any, that should accompany the acceptance of these principles.

In the debate there appear to be two points of view. The first—and the *ITT* position—holds that, as socialists, we should support the political rights of the American Nazi party. This position argues that if the political rights of the group are diminished, the rights of all, including the left, are likewise diminished; and that if the ACLU and the Nazis lose, a bad precedent will be established. As some have noted, this position assumes the neutrality of law in class society, nor does it confront the possibility of the alternative, which is that the Nazis, because they are either "immoral" or "wrong," should be denied the full range of political liberties in a bourgeois democracy. The defects in this position are obvious.

However, having accepted the position of support for the rights of the American Nazi party in theory, is it necessary to act upon this belief in this particular case? I question the strategy of aiding the American Nazi party in practice. The only possible justification for co-operation with the American Nazi party would seem to be self-defense; that an attack on the rights of the Nazis represented an imminent threat to the very survival of the left. At no time has the Illinois case been demonstrated to pose such a threat. Accordingly, it seems fair to operate on the assumption that, since the Nazis are presumably not overly solicitous of the left's political liberties, there is no compelling reason to be overly solicitous of their rights. By way of comparison, I would accept the rights of the American Nazi party to qualify for a place on the electoral ballot; but I will not sign their electoral qualifying petitions and thereby make it any easier for them to satisfy ordinary and practical electoral requirements.

—Tom Dietz
Detroit

An unlikely solution

Editor:

There's a simplistic formula to explain why social services decline in a tight economy—blame the workers!

I'm disappointed to see Nat Hentoff (*ITT*, Sept. 28) offer such a pat solution to explain why students don't learn to read. There's a lot more to it than bad teachers. He could have at least mentioned an economic system that lays off thousands of teachers while some young people sit in 35-person classes.

Sure, there are plenty of incompetent teachers. But getting rid of individuals doesn't reach the heart of the matter.

Public school systems themselves need to be reorganized. Existing school bureaucracies should be replaced by decentralized management, so that parents and teachers can run local schools. And students should be given a large say in how they are to be educated. The key is to make our education system flexible enough to meet the needs of each student.

I'm no defender of the tenure system that Hentoff attacks. But teachers do

need some protections. Usually it is not incompetent teachers, but outspoken/radical teachers who come under fire. Simply making it easier to fire teachers—Hentoff's only concrete suggestion—is unlikely to solve the reading problem.

Doug Honig
Seattle

Nonsense

Editor:

I have just read Joshua Dressler's criticism of libertarianism (*ITT*, Oct. 11), and I think it is nonsense.

Dressler is worried that libertarians would take away the state's power to mandate the wearing of motorcycle helmets and to suppress laetrile. Even assuming that action in these areas is desirable—better examples could have been found—there is no reason to conclude that the state should in fact step in. The desirability of something isn't enough to give the state the right to act on it. It is desirable that Nazis not speak; but it is even more desirable that the state have no say in the matter.

Unlike Dressler, I think it is fully consistent for socialists to espouse libertarian beliefs. It is a terrible mistake to equate socialism, a cooperative commonwealth, with state interference in how people choose to live.

—Paul Berman
New York

Corrections:

In our last issue, Vol. 1, No. 49, Nov. 2-8, 1977, we inadvertently left off the byline on "The Fiefdom of Russell Long." The article was written by Alan Ehrenhalt for Congressional Quarterly news service.

We also left off notice that Roy Appleton's "Devil Defies Denton Drys" first appeared in the *Texas Observer* (600 W. 7th St., Austin, TX 78701), and is reprinted with their permission.

Editor's Note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

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JUSTICE FOR LETELIER AND MOFFIT FREEDOM FOR CHILE

C O M E H E A R :

Isabel Letelier, widow of Orlando Letelier, Allende's ambassador to the United States, who was assassinated in Washington D.C. by agents of the Chilean fascist secret police.

Ralph Stavins, Washington attorney and coordinator of the independent investigation into the assassination.

Film: "The Long Arm of the DINA"

8 pm, Wednesday, Nov. 9
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Hans Koning

There is no immunity to violence in the modern world

As I am writing this, on a rainy day in Paris, no fewer than 100,000 policemen in Western Europe are looking for the people who kidnapped and then killed the German industrialist Hanns Martin Schleyer. A hundred thousand men—the equivalent of six army divisions!—pulled out in the middle of all the local American-style crime waves: it shows an international determination and collaboration seldom seen. Seldom? Never. Never in modern history have German and French forces collaborated on this scale.

The newspaper and television commentators on the European continent and in England have been speaking with one voice: the German terrorists, this second or third generation of the Baader-Meinhof gang, must be exterminated like rabid dogs. Only the French *Le Monde* (one of the most serious papers in the world, by the way) had the gall, or the objectivity, to run an article assuredly not condoning murder, but putting questions, painting a picture with half-tones rather than blacks or whites. It was not an editorial but a contributed "Op-Ed" piece (by the playwright Jean Genet), which did not stop every other paper I've seen, down to the execrable eight-penny dreadful *Evening Standard*, from calling *Le Monde* bastardly if not treacherous for doing that.

No paper dwelt on the questionability of terrorists' suicides with pistols in a maximum security jail, and only "left wing extremists" struck a false note amongst the

eulogies by saying that Schleyer had been a "war criminal." As Schleyer was a member of the German occupation forces in Prague at the end of World War II and an SS-man, these left-wingers, extreme or not, would seem justified: the SS was declared a criminal organization at Nuremberg. The question is raised once more, how true is the accusation that the West German establishment over the age of 50 is almost solidly ex-Nazi? It may be in bad taste to mention this when a man has been killed, but we are dealing with a political matter, not a social event.

To avoid the automatic misunderstandings produced in these cases, I must emphasize that I am not suggesting any of this justifies Schleyer's kidnapping and murder. But trying to *understand* them is something else. That appears to me a legitimate enterprise, one not served by the expert commentators jumping to typewriter and microphone to explain the psychopathology of these "children of Hitler" or, alternatively, to announce that there is simply no explanation for such behavior. They remind me uncomfortably of those psychiatrists and psychologists holding forth ten years ago in *The New York Times Magazine* and *Time* and *Parade* about the neuroses and psychoses—not of the men who were dropping ten million tons of bombs on Vietnam, but of the men and women who had bombed or were trying to bomb an army recruiting center or war research lab.

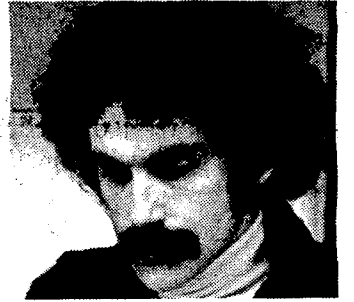
Am I equating our anti-war protests with the activities of the German Red Army? Equating, no. Comparing, yes. Surely only a true pacifist, a man who has rejected all terror and all violence, a man like the late A.J. Muste, for instance, has the right to reject terror per se. Everyone else has the right to investigate its degree of justification, and no European state government perpetrator of institutionalized violence through centuries, has the moral legs to stand on while it is forbidding us to do so.

The fears and hysteria of the European middle classes are neither surprising nor new. Everyone is scared of ending up in a hijacked plane, precisely because it can happen to a person who hasn't "done anything," without provocation. The anarchist bombs in the Paris cafes around the year 1900 created the same reaction: it could happen to anyone. That is why some European newspaper readers are more outraged by Schleyer's death than they were 30 years ago by the deaths of resistance heroes: the heroes had stuck their necks out, knew what the anti-German underground was getting into, while the newspaper readers knew that German firing squads did not threaten them.

No real socialist, and no real revolutionary either, no matter how "extreme left wing," can condone the victimizing of innocents. Che Guevara, who called for "Three...four Vietnams," did not, and even at the very end in Bolivia he kept sett-

ing his army prisoners free (contributing in that way to his own capture). But we do not need to prove how housebroken we are by joining the chorus that sees terrorism as a well-nigh unexplainable, devilish phenomenon, a game of maniacs out to spoil our democratic world order. All action equals reaction and vice versa. Hijacking became a fashion when the U.S. cut all links with Cuba and made it into a no-man's-land. We regularly read of murderers who "went wrong" in Vietnam. There is silent terror in those third-generation camps of Palestinian refugees, those prisons of the Shah of Iran, Indonesian concentration camps, Russian psychiatric wards. If Baader was a "child of Hitler," then so was Schleyer. Let us equally reject the violence of amateurs (the terrorists) and the violence of the professionals (the statesmen). Let us learn, too, that there is no immunity and no neutrality left in the modern world. The hijacked plane, the bomb in the pub, should finally teach us that the words "I don't care," "That is not my concern," "I lead my own life," are not only immoral, but that they no longer give protection.

Hans Koning is a New York novelist and former reporter-at-large for the New Yorker. His latest novel, The Petersburg-Cannes Express is now being filmed in Europe; his latest book of non-fiction, A New Yorker in Egypt, came out last winter.



Herbert A. Schreier

Black children sue California over bias in intelligence tests

An important trial began last week (Oct. 11) in Federal Court in San Francisco, Calif. The suit, *Larry P. vs. Riles*, a class action brought on behalf of six black children, contends that black children are unjustly overrepresented in classes for the mentally retarded. That there are many more blacks in classes for the educable or mentally retarded (EMR) is a fact. While 9.1 percent of California pupils are black, 27.5 percent of the children in EMR classes are black. The plaintiffs will attempt to show that standard intelligence tests have a built-in cultural bias that inappropriately labels black children, condemning them to a classroom situation where they will most likely fulfill the system's expectations of them.

Numerous studies have not only demonstrated that children, adults and even rats conform to testers' expectations of how well they perform on seeming "objective tests" (even mazes), but they also show how children conform in their "abilities" to the expectations of adults teaching them. The plaintiffs charge that "the stigma attached to the EMR notation on their record and the widening gap in actual learning...deny [them] any chance to realize their potential." The suit brought in 1971 has already had one major effect: the federal judge in the case, Robert Peckham, issued an order in 1972 stopping San Francisco public schools from using IQ tests to place black children in classes for the EMR. In 1974 a similar racial imbalance was noted outside San Francisco and the order was expanded to cover the whole state of California.

California has taken many stands in pretrial court pleas, including one that suggested that one of the factors for lower intelligence scores by students in these classes was a "poor genetic pool for all races, ghettoized in the inner city." Other factors that contribute to "lower intelligence" among blacks, the state will contend, are poor nutrition, pregnant moth-

Even rats conform to testers' expectations of how they will perform on "objective" tests, including mazes.

ers, poor prenatal and postnatal care, one-parent families, a greater number of births to one mother, teenage pregnancies, and other environmental conditions of the poor.

The genetic explanation argument is being dropped by the state but warrants comment here. The studies on which Arthur Jensen based his work which purported to show that lower IQ test scores found among black students when compared with whites, was based on genetic inheritance, have recently been shown to be fraudulent (*ITT*, Dec 6, 1976). While it is likely that some portion of intelligence is inherited, it is impossible now and in the foreseeable future to separate out the contributions of genes from that of environment. But even the differences found in test scores are highly suspect. Much has been written on the cultural bias of standardized IQ tests. Thus, the Stanford Binet, one such intelligence test, has such test items as a question asking students to choose the "pretty face." The "wrong" answer is a person with negroid facial features. In fact, when qualified Bay Area black psychologists reworded some of the items on standard tests to make them more consistent with the children's background and language experience, made special efforts to establish a good rapport and gave credit to non-standard answers that nevertheless showed an intelligent approach to the problem, each of six black EMR students scored above the cut-off point for placement in EMR classes. Another group of psychologists recently wrote a test using language that black children are familiar with that not only demonstrated their abilities but would have resulted in most white takers

of the examination being classified as retarded.

The State, in moving from a defense based on a genetic argument to one based on factors of birth trauma and poor prenatal care, leading to irreparable damage, has moved to a much more sophisticated argument. There is much documentation to indicate that poor care during pregnancy, poor nutrition of mothers, teenage pregnancy, prematurity, and low birth weight, lead to problems in early development and to infants doing poorly on early tests of "intelligence." All the above conditions have been shown to be associated with poverty, and black people are grossly overrepresented among the poor. Such arguments, if accurate, would lead one to policies to improve nutrition and prenatal care, but would permit the State and its education system to feel less responsible for the outrageously high levels of illiteracy recorded in many of the nation's cities. But a closer examination of more recent studies in this area provides little peace for those who would argue that the initial biological inputs determine for the most part the outcome that is the lot of many black children.

Studies following thousands of children from birth demonstrate that the noxious effects of early trauma such as prematurity, low birth weight and early anoxia (periods without oxygen) and other birth trauma, pale by comparison with the effects of low socio-economic status. To quote one review, these studies have "yet to produce a single predictive variable more potent than the familial and socio-economic characteristics of the caretaker environment." In one study, children from poor families who scored low on eight-months tests of

"intelligence" continued to do so at four years. But the researchers found a cross-over effect—children from upper class families who were in the lowest quartile on these examinations at eight months, performed better at four years than children from poor families who scored in the highest quartile at eight months!

Now, the argument is likely to turn to the Moynihan concept of the "pathological" black family. In its most pernicious form, the black family with its absent father and strong matriarch was said to be a persistent product of years of degradation from slavery to urban ghettoization. Little could be done to help black children without major therapeutic interventions to change the black family. First, it should be noted that the primary effect in the infant studies quoted above was from socio-economic status, not race—that is, not from being black, but from being poor.

Recent studies have shown that, contrary to the view of the black family cited above, there is enormous strength and resiliency in the family network systems of the black ghettos; that many black children develop excellent survival strategies for the world they face.

Applying middle-class white family standards to blacks will produce a picture of a "pathological" family as likely as applying white middle-class standards of language and informational skills will produce a picture of a cognitively damaged black child. Poverty takes its toll on blacks and whites alike. Those who focus on the "irreparable" harm done by being poor will find a convenient excuse for passing the blame to another part of the system. Money and special programs for hungry people with poor medical care are essential, but cannot be seen as solutions to the basic imbalance in the distribution of the fruits of a society that depends so heavily on that imbalance for its existence.

Herbert A. Schreier, M.D., is a physician at Oakland (Calif.) Children's Hospital.

What to do about nuclear power?

The controversy.

The debate over nuclear power in America continues to rage. It is not a question just for experts, because nuclear decisions profoundly affect all Americans as energy users, taxpayers, and as individuals who need a safe environment. The U.S. has already embarked on a major nuclear program. If it continues as planned it will cost over a trillion dollars and shape our future well into the twenty-first century. Research conducted by the Union of Concerned Scientists (UCS) and others indicates that this course may be disastrous, and that major uncertainties and risks must be addressed and resolved *now*, before heavy reliance on nuclear power is a fact.

Dangers.

Nuclear plants can have truly catastrophic accidents. The danger is not nuclear explosion, but the sudden release of lethal, radioactive material into the environment. This is how the accident risk arises: A nuclear reactor produces power from the energy released by splitting nuclei of radioactive uranium in the reactor core. The danger lies in a runaway reaction that could not be switched off and that would generate enough heat to destroy the reactor and release large quantities of toxic material. If a pipe carrying water to the reactor should break, within seconds the temperature of the core would rise to a point at which it would melt right through its concrete and steel container and discharge radiation.

Such a "meltdown" is the most feared nuclear accident. A typical power plant contains several tons of radioactive material, much of which is gaseous and could be borne away by the wind. Some of these materials, like plutonium, are capable of causing cancer if inhaled in an amount as small as a grain of pollen. It is estimated that death and birth defects could occur for people exposed over 100 miles from the plant. One study by the Atomic Energy Commission concludes that a major accident could affect "an area of disaster... equal to that of the State of Pennsylvania."

The emergency core cooling system ("ECCS") is intended to prevent such a catastrophe by restoring cooling water to the hot core, thus arresting the core meltdown. The ECCS is absolutely basic to the safety of a reactor, and yet the number of questions about its efficiency is staggering. It has never been adequately tested. In open testimony, many senior AEC research scientists have expressed misgivings about it. Government documents suppressed by federal officials but obtained by UCS investigations, catalog numerous defects in

current ECCS equipment. And yet this is the pivotal safety system installed in all U.S. nuclear plants. Doubts about the safety of nuclear plants were reflected in the refusal of power companies to develop nuclear energy until Congress released them from full financial responsibility to the victims of any accidents.

So far there have been no calamitous accidents in the country's limited commercial nuclear power program. But only about 65 of a planned 450-800 plants have been built, and there have already been a number of very sobering near-misses. In 1976, many of the safety systems, including the entire ECCS, were knocked out for over seven hours at the country's largest operating plant in Browns Ferry, Tenn., by a fire started by a workman's candle. One TVA official told investigators that a catastrophe was avoided by "sheer luck."

And it is not just accidents. Reactors can be sabotaged with catastrophic consequences. Repeated studies have concluded that safeguards against sabotage are inadequate.

Nuclear waste.

Another danger of the nuclear power program lies in the highly toxic radioactive waste generated by nuclear reactors. Scientists have described these as a grim legacy to future generations. This waste, although relatively small in volume, will continue to be deadly for tens of thousands of years. There is no way to render them harmless; they must be stored and guarded until the natural radioactive decay has run its course. If prehistoric cave-men had generated nuclear wastes, our society would still be confronted with its lethal potency.

Currently, the radioactive waste is stored in several facilities throughout the country, and much of it sits in temporary installations at reactor sites. The inadequacy of certain facilities has been well demonstrated. In 1973, it was discovered that 115,000 gallons of high-level radioactive waste had leaked from a tank at the AEC's facility in Hanford, Wash. The official investigation indicated that the tank had been leaking for weeks, that automatic alarm systems did not alert anyone, that the management did not review monitoring reports that should have alerted them. Additional leaks of radioactive waste have occurred at Hanford and at facilities in New York, Kentucky, Idaho, and from ocean dumping off California and Delaware.

There are newer plans for waste storage involving deep burial in theoretically stable geological formations. Such programs sound promising, but are yet to be

demonstrated. The first attempt at burial had to be abandoned when it appeared that ground water could unexpectedly leak in. We are over 30 years into the "nuclear age" and, in spite of many claims and promises, there is still no satisfactory, demonstrated technology for dealing with nuclear waste in a confident and satisfactory manner.

Terrorism and nuclear proliferation.

Another danger of nuclear power involves the production of atomic bomb materials. A typical plant produces 500 pounds of plutonium a year, and it takes only 20 pounds to make a bomb. If, as the nuclear industry wishes, this material is separated out, the possibility of theft by terrorists will vastly increase. Even small groups of terrorists could build homemade bombs with stolen plutonium. To show this, a public television station commissioned a college student to design a nuclear explosive using only readily available technical information. His design, according to one reviewing expert, would probably have worked.

An additional and frightening dimension of nuclear power comes from export sales of reactors. Nations not having nuclear weapons can buy reactors and use their nuclear program as a stepping stone to nuclear explosives. India demonstrated this when she surprised the world by detonating a nuclear explosive built with material from a reactor furnished by Canada. Because control over the reactors that we and others sell abroad is inadequate, the proliferation of nuclear weapons can continue much too easily.

Beyond danger to economics.

The dreams of cheap abundant power from nuclear reactors continue to collide with economic reality. Nuclear plants are extremely expensive and costs are increasing about 20 percent annually. The plants themselves are complex and inefficient. American commercial nuclear plants operated at about 59 percent of their capacity in 1975, far below industry and government projections of 70-80 percent. Nuclear generated electricity is costing as much as that generated by coal in some parts of the country, and almost as much as oil.

Nuclear power is a less than satisfactory answer to domestic energy needs, because our uranium supplies are highly uncertain—possibly as scarce as remaining oil sources. Reliance on "breeder reactors" fueled by plutonium generated from uranium within the reactors is now under development. But the advantages of more efficient use of uranium is more than offset

by greatly enhanced dangers. The fuel reprocessing procedure involves extracting plutonium from the wastes. Also, breeder reactors compared to present reactors would be far more dangerous in their concentration of plutonium and fission products and more lethal in case of accident.

What should we do?

The UCS and other concerned citizens do not deny the energy potential that nuclear power could offer the U.S. Their position simply recognizes that satisfactory safety precautions have to be taken before large-scale nuclear power production can be allowed. The nuclear industry has failed so far to do this. A pause in the construction of new plants would allow an orderly assessment of the problems and the time to carry out research and development to decrease the risks. This would help avoid costly and possibly fatal mistakes. The history of indifference, carelessness, poor engineering, near accidents and suppression of information to the public about nuclear safety problems demonstrates the need for considerable tightening of controls. If the nuclear industry can prove through testing and appropriate changes that the safety, waste-disposal, sabotage and proliferation questions can be convincingly and economically resolved, then the country could move ahead with nuclear power. If these safety and other doubts cannot be adequately allayed, then nuclear power should be unacceptable to the American public and be abandoned altogether.

Fortunately the country can afford the pause in nuclear construction in which the nuclear industry can attempt to reduce the nuclear risks. In an orderly energy program, the country could avoid a greatly expanded commitment to coal and nuclear fission power. This could be achieved by a major reduction in energy waste through well planned energy efficiency measures, by wise utilization of domestic oil and gas resources, and by developing for practicable and timely application, new sources of energy from the sun and the wind. Certain kinds of nuclear fusion, if found to be environmentally acceptable, might also play an important role in the long-term future. In this way we can lower the present and now unacceptable risks of nuclear power to avoid the terrible mishaps and immense dislocations that this potentially ultra-hazardous technology may otherwise cause us.

The Union of Concerned Scientists (UCS) is an independent, non-profit group of scientists who have spent several years conducting research into the nuclear power safety question.

DIALOG

"Bourgeois" freedoms

During the past year, people on the left have differed over whether to protest the possible violation of human rights in Vietnam, and over whether Nazis should be permitted to march in Skokie.

The Vietnam discussion was clouded because (1) it was difficult to know the facts, and (2) the protesters, by releasing a statement to the American press, chose a means of expression which many found objectionable in itself.

No such side-issues are present in the debate over Nazis in Skokie (a suburb of Chicago). The central issue is clear: Are persons whose politics we find obscene and reactionary entitled to the same rights we ask for ourselves?

I believe that this question is critical for the soul of our movement. I hope it can be explored with tolerance and mutual respect for each other.

My own feeling is that we began to

lose our way as a movement when we began to answer No to that question. The change happened in 1967. About that time Herbert Marcuse persuaded many radicals that tolerance was a form of repression. Serious campus occupations were beginning and Carl Davidson argued in *New Left Notes* that it was silly to defend the rights of opponents who had no hesitation in brutalizing us whenever offered the chance. Black Panthers began to call policemen "pigs."

An incident that connected with Lord Russell's War Crimes Tribunal made a great impression on me. During preliminary conversations, I voiced the opinion that the tribunal should be open to anyone who claimed to have evidence of any crimes, by either side, in Vietnam. I reasoned that this approach would benefit the Vietnamese, in that the crimes would be overwhelmingly American. But I also argued that a "crime" was by definition something that was wrong no matter who did it. I was confronted with the argument: anything that drives the American invader into the sea is not a crime.

Similarly, many on the left are convinced that the propagation of racism is so evil that a socialist society should not permit it, and a socialist movement should oppose it in every way possible.

I would have more respect for the proponents of this position if they did not claim the First Amendment for them-

selves. One taking this position should not invoke the First Amendment, which was intended to protect everyone. One should rather say: "I should be permitted to propagate radical ideas because they are *right*, and Nazis should be forbidden to spread their ideas, because they are *wrong*."

The assumption underlying the First Amendment is that no one is wise enough to be certain what ideas are right and what wrong. It was the product of the religious wars of the Reformation, when thousands of people killed each other because of differences over the nature of the Trinity or the proper age for baptism.

I recognize the paradox of calling on the First Amendment to shield a movement that, in its German incarnation, butchered millions. First Amendment doctrine seeks to confront this paradox by drawing a line: on one side of it, the promotion of all ideas is protected; on the other, incitement to immediate illegal action is unprotected, again without distinction as to who is doing the inciting.

This doctrine seems to me a great human achievement; a "bourgeois freedom" that a socialist society would prize. I see no way to give it up without sliding downhill to a situation where he who has power for the moment imposes his own idea of what is right and wrong upon every one within reach.

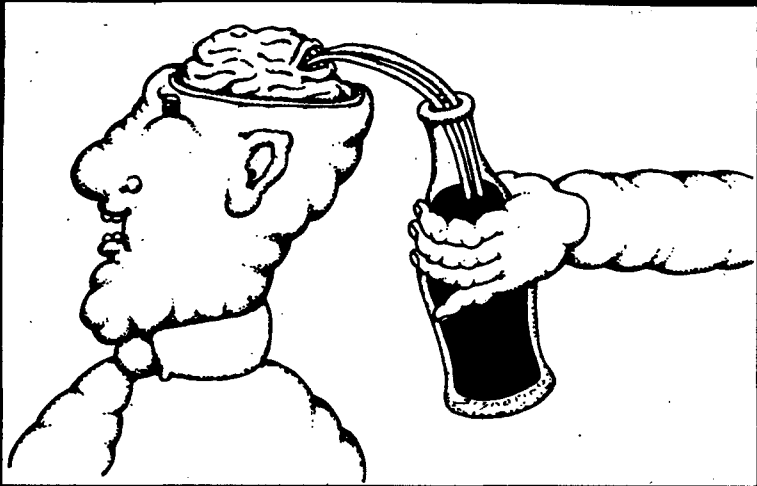
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Lumber co-op

Continued from page 6.

Central Labor Council voted support for the efforts to save Westfir.

Westfir's viability depends upon the willingness of the private owners to cooperate; if the Mitchell real estate firm won't sell, there can be no cooperative.

Worker-ownership has been sold to the Westfir community as a form of "self-employment." "Small business" and "free enterprise" rhetoric prevails over cooperation and collectivity. Father Italo De Pra, the town priest, advises WWA leaders that "worker-ownership preserves the best features of free enterprise."

Lane Economic Development Council leaders and county leaders advise against public ownership. Suggestions that the

county or city of Oakridge purchase and operate the mill are rejected by Commissioner Rust's assistant, Bill Muir, on the grounds that taxpayers and voters would not buy the idea.

"Westfir: Ghost Town or Prosperity?" is the slogan raised by the WWA. If the co-op fails, "ghost town" is the unavoidable fate; if worker-ownership succeeds, "prosperity" may return to Westfir. Whether the community corporation solution is capable of advancing the political economic struggle beyond that point, remains to be seen.

Jerry Lembcke works with the Pacific Northwest Research Center and the Insurgent Sociologist in Eugene, Ore.

Farmworker troubles

Virtually all of the critics continue to emphasize support for the UFW, but they also hope for a change in union policy.

Continued from page 3.

accompanied Chavez to the Philippines.

Regardless of the accuracy of one or another of the claims, the fuss created by Chavez' trip, including a session with Marcos during which he received an award from the dictator, necessitated a public airing of the issue. This became clear to the union, and the UFW called such a meeting at Delano High School for Oct. 15.

One source close to the union said that it was the UFW's hope to attract many Filipinos who were alienated from the union to come to this meeting, held at a "neutral" location rather than at the union's spacious hiring hall in Delano.

Protests outside meeting.

Hundreds attended the meeting, which lasted over five hours. It was a most peculiar session. Chavez made a brief explanation of his trip, saying that it was mainly to meet with farm workers in the Philippines. He answered questions, but refused to state his opposition to martial law in the islands despite demands that he do so.

Outside the meeting Filipinos from San Francisco, Los Angeles, San Diego and Delano picketed the meeting and distributed handbills. Among those on the picketline of more than two dozen were members of the UFW.

A handbill issued by the Delano Coalition for Democracy in the Philippines declared, "some of us are members of the United Farm Workers of America, AFL-CIO, and many of us have long supported the farm workers' movement. It is precisely because we have struggled with the farm workers' movement—a movement which we love, and which we feel is a part of the broader, human struggle—that we now feel great pain and sadness with regard to the United Farm Workers' leadership's public stand in support of martial law in the Philippines."

The Delano Coalition, which has retired UFW vice president Philip Vera Cruz as one of its leaders, said that Chavez had not met with genuine trade unionists while in the Philippines: "A true union movement cannot survive under a regime which forbids strikes and suppresses union organizing."

Nothing has been settled.

Gerard E. Sherry, editor of a Catholic publication in the San Francisco-Bay area and a long time supporter of the UFW, was among those at the meeting. In his widely syndicated NC (National Catholic) report he observed that "it was obvious that a large proportion of those attending supported Chavez, including some of the Filipino workers in his un-

ion. But there were also signs of real discontent within the ranks of the UFW and among religious groups which have supported Chavez from the start of his organizing efforts in California. As one participant in the meeting said afterwards, 'Nothing has been settled. I believe Chavez is in real trouble'."

At the meeting five spokespersons for Philippine organizations, including unions under Marcos, spoke. Jerry Montemayor, president of the Federation of Free Farmers, bitterly criticized the role of the clergy in the Philippines, and demanded that church spokesmen limit their activities to purely religious roles and stay out of the social movements.

This brought a sharp rejoinder from Monsignor George Higgins, secretary of research for the U.S. Catholic Conference and from others who long have backed the Chavez movement, and who have fought in the religious community and the trade unions to rally support for the UFW.

Ironically, while in the Philippines, Chavez accepted an award on behalf of the late Larry Itliong who died last February. Itliong had led the movement in the AFL-CIO Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee for merger with Chavez' National Farm Workers Association. He was a long-time activist in farm organizing who also visited the Philippines frequently.

On several occasions Itliong told this reporter that he had sought out and met with anti-Marcos forces in the Philippines. His opposition to the Marcos regime was frequently voiced in private conversations we had.

Not the first time.

The present difficulties of Chavez and the UFW leadership with a major sector of its support movement and a section of their membership is not the first such development. Several years ago the UFW leadership took a hard line position against undocumented workers, supporting California legislation that was opposed by most of the Chicano movement, and calling for stricter border patrol measures against workers from Mexico without papers.

At that time too Chavez told this reporter that he was taking such actions at the behest of a major section of his membership. However, pressures from the Chicano and radical movements, as well as from some church supporters, helped bring about a change in the union's policy. Now the union is on record for amnesty for all undocumented workers and it includes in its ranks many Mexican nationals who are in this country without documents.

Virtually all of Chavez' critics emphasize that they will continue their support of the campaign to organize farm workers despite their present disagreements with him and the UFW leadership over his trip to the Philippines. Many of them add that they are hopeful that the UFW leaders will change their position, as it did on the question of undocumented workers.

Sam Kushner is the author of Long Road to Delano and writes regularly for IN THESE TIMES.

LIFE IN THE U.S.

Seeking educational alternatives

THEORY

TRADITIONS OF AMERICAN EDUCATION

By Lawrence A. Cremin
Basic Books, New York, 1977

Lawrence Cremin, president of Teachers College, Columbia University, is a powerful figure in American educational circles. Perhaps the most well known historian of American education, he began a major reassessment of that topic in 1970 with the publication of *American Education: The Colonial Experience*. We are promised two further volumes, *The National Experience* for the period from the 1780s to the 1870s, and *The Metropolitan Experience* for the last century. *Traditions of American Education* briefly summarizes all three volumes.

Cremin's history, in theme and organization, closely parallels Daniel Boorstin's *The Americans*. Both historians stress the flexibility and expansiveness of the country's economic, social, cultural, intellectual and physical environments, permitting and encouraging the fit and opportunistic to succeed.

Breaking with other historians of education, who concentrate on the development and meaning of schooling, Cremin argues that education is the conscious attempt by society to influence people (not just the young) through churches, families, government, the media, work experience, as well as schools.

Cremin, following Boorstin and countless others, stresses the openness of American society from its inception. He is convinced that "individuals made their own way, irregularly, intermittently, and indeterminately, through the educational configurations of the nineteenth-century frontier, going back and forth across the permeable boundaries of household, church, school, and apprenticeship, largely self-motivated and largely self-directed toward particular goals."

Twentieth century society is considerably more complex, but the same sort of process has prevailed.

If the American educational experience has not been absolutely the best, Cremin argues, surely its relative success should be applauded. Other disagree.

For the past ten years many younger historians of American education (and a few older ones), concentrating on the rise and development of public schooling, have been seriously challenging this democratic thesis. Sparked by the work of the system.

Just as the cold war, imperialism, poverty, violence, racism, segregation and the like had deep roots in the country's past, as radical (or revisionist) historians had begun to discover, the schools' problems were equally long-lived. Moreover, schools were not only responsible for their own problems, but also contributed to perpetuating others as well.

Katz, for example, argues that the class, racist, and bureaucratic nature of public schooling, as developed since the mid-nineteenth century, both mirrored and contributed to similar problems throughout society. Schools have not just been boring, they have been dangerous.

The revisionists' arguments have become influential within certain circles, but like radical views generally have had little impact on popular thinking. Interestingly, the same can be said for Cremin's interpretation. Schooling and education are still seen as synonymous.

It is important, however, to counter strongly Cremin's conservative message, for it further diverts us from the major tasks facing our society, particularly the promotion of economic, social, sexual, racial, and political equality. In the process we must continue to make the schools more humane and responsive to commun-



Ken Firestone

The '50s and '60s saw many innovative educational experiments that could have benefited from knowledge of their historical roots.

ity needs and interests.

Schools, public and private, can be useful in promoting a healthy, prosperous, socialistic society, but not until more fundamental issues have been dealt with. As Katz, Christopher Jencks, and others sensibly argue, schools are only the mirror of the larger society; they can be reformed by it, but not vice versa.

This is perhaps the most important lesson of the revisionists' findings and also, oddly, of Cremin's interpretation. Schools are only one ingredient in influencing and manipulating the young, for good or evil. And they will only do the job society demands of them.

—Ronald D. Cohen

Ronald D. Cohen teaches history at Indiana University Northwest in Gary.

PRACTICE

ROOTS OF OPEN EDUCATION IN AMERICA

Edited by Ruth Dropkin and Arthur Tobier

City College Workshop Center for Open Education, New York, 1976

In 1816, as he led the drive to establish a system of public schools in North Carolina, judge and financier Archibald Douglass Murphey wrote, "...All the children shall be taught in them...the precepts of morality and religions should be inculcated, and habits of subordination and obedience be formed... Their parents know not how to instruct them... The state, in the warmth of her affection and solicitude for their welfare, must take charge of these children and place them in school where their minds can be enlightened and their hearts can be trained to virtue." At that time people had great hopes for public education.

A century and a half later many parents and even more children were wondering (sometimes in print) whether the affectionate and solicitous state had not become overzealous in its determination to indoctrinate with obedience and subordination.

The 1950s and '60s saw the founding of a number of schools that inculcated loyalty to the idea of freedom, not to the state, and were humanely respectful of the intellectual and emotional needs of teacher and learner.

There was a rich educational tradition on which such enterprises could have drawn, but in the excitement of those heady days before Nixon and crew, most of the experimenters seemed determined to reinvent the educational wheel, remaining ignorant of previous experience.

Today, when there is more somber reflection about the demise of so many great starts in education than there is joy in their continuation and achievements, is an appropriate time for publication of *The Roots of Open Education in America*, a book taken from a conference with that title at New York's City College in 1975.

Fifteen conference participants and four formal speakers record how the spirit and tradition of open education was continued, by themselves and others, in one-room school houses in North and South, in long-forgotten WPA experiments, in Yiddish shules, in settlement houses, among the Mohawk Nation of the Iroquois Confederacy, and through Citizenship Schools spawned in the late '50s to teach southern blacks how to read and write.

They describe unsung persons in often unheard of places who have kept alive—through practice, endurance and frequent sacrifice—the idea that education means growth, change and the questioning of all boundaries.

One might fault the lack of acknowledgement of the European origins of many of these ideas, but it is exciting to know so much has been accomplished in America by so few, with so little and under such odds.

Many of the storytellers continue working today as teachers in nontraditional schools. Their stories demonstrate how practitioners have managed—now and in the past—to encourage learning through collaboration, interdependence, and by viewing leadership as a function that all may exercise, where results are measured in terms of the ability to make decisions, to value, to think critically, to act democratically, to laugh, cry and be one's self, and not merely by the accumulation of expertise.

This book will bother both the tradition-bound educator and the searcher for a quick formula or method. None is offered save for the abiding characteristic

seemingly shared by the storyteller/teachers of an abiding respect for man and womankind, coupled with the determination to bring about basic social change.

Page after page reflects how these educators related their teaching to the political and economic forces in America. The movement towards open education is rhythmically related to the American economy, just as the political and economic demands of the state shape traditional schooling.

After Nixon's election, for instance, high inflation rates, double digit unemployment and a substantial fall in real wages were used to deliberately stifle the rising expectations of Americans. Fear about the future was created. At that time, not coincidentally, many of the most promising open school endeavors ground to a halt, or were severely crimped.

"The chief enemy of open education," notes Paul Nash in one of the formal presentations in the book, "is fear. Fear has many allies, one of the most important being inflation. Inflation means working harder this year than last to stay in the same place... It means subordinating, perhaps ingratiating yourself, and developing whole categories of attitudes and procedures regarding authority that are the enemies of self-actualization, self-confidence, independence and interdependence. Therefore, in times of inflation or economic recession, it is very hard... to nurture open education, because in these times the forces of fear are strengthened."

The climate of fear created by Nixon and continued by Ford apparently lingers.

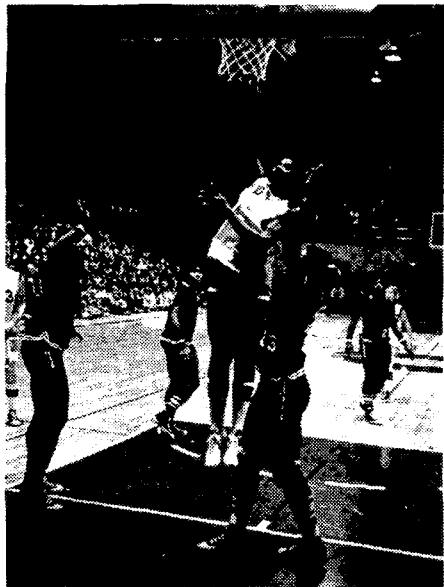
So while this plague is upon the land, the priority task facing those concerned about fostering the traditions of open education is two-fold: to support and continue those few open educational places still flourishing, and to evaluate and test our own experiences against those of persons such as the ones in this book. Its unstated message suggests that hope for change will again stir in the land, and that it is out of hope and not despair that revolutions are born.

—Frank Adams

Frank Adams is a cobbler and writer. His shoe repair shop in Gatesville, N.C., is also used as a center for community education for social change.

SPORTS

Confusion over sports equality



By Barry Jacobs

Last season, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (UNC) Tarheels' men's basketball team finished first in its conference and second in the nation. Much was done to see that the team was well taken care of on and off the court. Meanwhile UNC's women's basketball team struggled along without adequate shower or locker facilities, without practice uniforms, without a full-time coach. The women's athletic director had little time to recruit and few scholarships to offer.

In 1974, of the literally hundreds of millions of dollars budgeted for athletics by American colleges and universities, only 2 percent went to women's programs. Few schools offered women athletic scholarships. Little was done to provide adequate coaching, facilities or equipment in the few intercollegiate sports played by women athletes.

Change with Title IX.

Spurred by the anti-discrimination requirements of Title IX of the federal Educational Amendments Act of 1972, change has come to intercollegiate athletics. A school like the University of California at Berkeley, which spent \$5,000 on women's athletics in 1972, now budgets \$448,000 for its women's programs.

Many schools are striving to upgrade their women's athletics programs and to end the inequities which have existed in the past. It's no simple task. And with the deadline for full Title IX compliance less than nine months away, confusion and a lack of uniform progress mark the efforts of administrators to achieve the "equal opportunity" mandated by the act.

According to Section 86.41 of Title IX, "No person shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participating in, be denied the benefits of, be treated differently from another person or otherwise be discriminated against in any interscholastic, intercollegiate, club, or intramural athletics" offered by any school receiving federal funds.

Universities were required to submit an internal self-evaluative report to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare by July 21, 1976, detailing their efforts to meet the requirements of Title IX. They are expected to be in full compliance by July 21, 1978.

But just what full compliance entails is a matter of considerable conjecture and debate.

Confusing guidelines.

"HEW has given us some guidelines and they're confusing guidelines," said Jeffrey Orleans, a special assistant to the president of the University of North Carolina. Orleans' job is to oversee the implementation of Title IX within the 16-campus state system.

"It's up to each university to decide what is compliance and what is not," he said. "You can do anything you want as

long as you don't discriminate." Spurred by the anti-discrimination rules of Title IX of the Educational Amendments Act, change is coming to intercollegiate athletics. More and more schools are moving to equalize treatment of men and women. But efforts are hindered by confusion in the government over just what schools are required to do to provide equal opportunity and treatment in their athletic programs.

long as you don't discriminate."

This vagueness has led to a wide divergence of responses in the application of Title IX. Some schools have gone to considerable lengths to extend full athletic benefits to women. They are the exceptions.

Many see Title IX as a threat to their men's programs or as a strain on their budgets and have resisted making changes to accommodate women.

The NCAA (National Collegiate Athletic Association), representing men's intercollegiate athletics, is currently pressing a lawsuit that would void that part of Title IX that requires equality between men's and women's athletic programs.

A quick look at two schools in the same state university system illustrates how greatly the approach to Title IX can vary. North Carolina State University gives its full-time women's athletic director, Kay Yow, a two-room office in the basketball arena, as well as a full-time secretary. Yow has time to travel, to recruit, to devote to coaching strategy sessions. This year she's sharing her duties with a full-time assistant.

Noted Frank Weedon, assistant athletic director at State, "We're doing, within the rules, whatever it takes to win. We want the best program that money can buy."

Contrast that with UNC, State's arch rival. UNC's women's athletic director, Frances Hogan, must teach a full load of physical education classes. Her secretary also does physical education department work. Hogan has little time to travel, to recruit athletes, to devote to long range planning. She has a small office in an old building tucked far away from the rest of the athletic administration. And Hogan complains that she is not even listed in UNC game programs among "key athletic personnel," though the ticket manager and the equipment manager rate such mention.

"Sometimes I get the feeling that we're not part of athletics," she protested.

UNC is not the only school that has been slow to embrace an expanded women's program. And UNC at least has a woman as women's athletic director, something that many other schools lack.

No action from HEW.

Different schools' attitudes are also reflected in their Title IX self-evaluation re-

ports. Some schools, like Duke and the University of Maryland, are proud of the thorough detailed analyses they made in their reports, and officials at these schools make their reports readily available for inspection. Others refuse to let an outsider see their self-evaluation report. In fact, many have not yet submitted their reports to HEW.

Jeffrey Orleans, who once worked for HEW and helped draft much of the Title IX legislation, claimed the department has thus far made little effort to enforce or clarify the Title IX regulations.

"HEW has done few reviews of the interim reports," he noted. "Nor have they answered our questions on any substantive issue."

Orleans explained HEW's inability to press for compliance as both "a legacy from past administrations" (Nixon's and Ford's) in which civil rights issues were not given high priority, and a result of a turnover in personnel that has created confusion within the Civil Rights Division of HEW.

Groping for guidance, Orleans expressed the hope that the federal government would come to North Carolina to examine the state university system's athletic programs.

"It would be very useful to find out you have a problem or you have a clean bill of health," he noted wryly.

As matters now stand, questions regarding compliance are registered by HEW, but no answers are forthcoming.

Orleans reported that an informal agreement exists whereby anyone submitting a question to HEW concerning their program will be immune to prosecution should HEW later rule the practice to be in violation of Title IX.

Lots of questions.

The questions regarding Title IX are plentiful. Does "equal opportunity" mean equal funding or comparable funding? By what magic formula does HEW expect "equality" to be measured?

And how are schools to treat the so-called "revenue-producing sports" — men's basketball and football in most of the country—in allocating funding and facilities? Is it acceptable to consider these sports separately from nonrevenue sports like wrestling, fencing, most women's sports and intramural programs?

Most schools think so, funding the revenue sports first, then dividing the remainder of their athletic budget among the other sports. Men in the so-called "minor" sports have long complained about such treatment—now women are experiencing it too.

Experts like Orleans hope the "impact of revenue" on people's thinking can be reduced soon. "The question of revenue-producing and nonrevenue-producing is irrelevant to the question of equal opportunity in intercollegiate athletics," he maintained. He prefers to approach Title IX compliance by deemphasizing a concern with money, asking instead, "How would the students best be served?"

It's unlikely many major universities will take such a dispassionate approach to their athletic programs, not when they see basketball and football attracting large donations, publicity and national prestige.

Differing athletic associations.

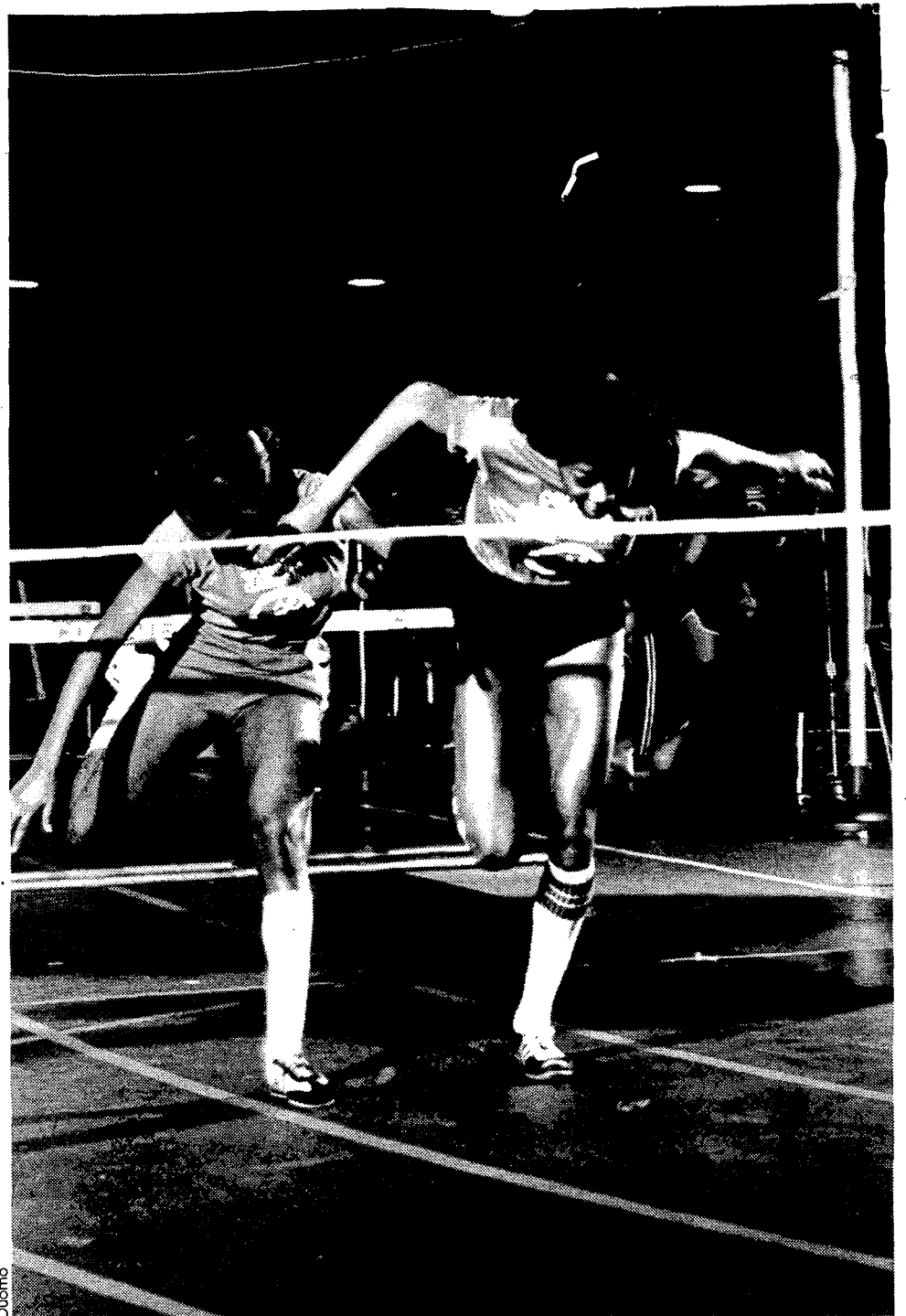
Even if schools work out their difficulties in allocating resources, and manage to overcome old stereotypes and prejudices about women, other problems remain.

Women's teams belong to the AIAW (Association for Intercollegiate Athletics for Women), which has a different set of rules than the men's NCAA. In several areas—tutoring, recruiting, scholarships—the organizations have conflicting regulations; schools which belong to both are forced to apply different, often clearly unequal standards to their men's and women's programs in order to maintain their eligibility in the NCAA and the AIAW. How these inequities will be viewed by HEW in its evaluation of a university's compliance with Title IX is anybody's guess.

For the fact is that while every college administration in the U.S. has had to respond to Title IX, no one knows for certain what Title IX is all about. No one knows what compliance means, let alone what is enough compliance. And until someone decrees otherwise, women's athletic programs will continue to stumble along at as many different paces as there are administrators to set them.

Barry Jacobs is a freelance writer in North Carolina.

Duomo



ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

Records

SAY IT IN PRIVATE

Steve Goodman
(Asylum)

Steve Goodman, blinking in the spotlight on stage or on camera, is a mild-unprepossessing little man, bearing almost no resemblance to the glamorous image on his album covers.

In performance, he starts slow, but works steadily toward something—not so much a climax as a joyous rapport—that brings a hall full of wildly heterogeneous people to their feet, stamping and cheering. It takes a little time, but eventually he gets to just about everybody.

The same applies to his newest album, *Say It in Private*. The first side is amiable, easy to listen to, just as easy to converse to—nothing to cheer about. But the second side is something else.

It starts with a rendition of "Is It True What They Say About Dixie" that features Jethro Burns on the mandolin, with Goodman playing an adequate guitar and putting all his charismatic energy into a high tenor, high energy vocal.

Then comes a Chicago version of a conventional blues by Hank Williams. Not bad, and a complete switch in tempo and tone, which makes an artful transition into the satiric lament, "Daley's Gone."

This may be only a regional sensation, but it is that. In concert at the University of Chicago the whole audience sang along exuberantly until the final verse when a pun went off with such explosive force that no one heard anything for a while. It has been censored (in the interests of "good taste") but historians will note that it combined the names of the late boss's three sons, Michael, Bill and Dick, into a passable version of the name of his political heir apparent, and in a context that made it a prophesy—since fulfilled.

Next comes a deeply felt and deeply moving tribute to Goodman's father—the most successful of the current crop of similar salutes (cf review of Judy Collins, *ITT*, Sept. 21). It is sung without pyrotechnics and sneaks up on the listener so quietly that one's defenses are down by the time the punch line hits.

But the best cut of all is the last.

"The Twentieth Century Is Almost Over" is the sort of showstopper that will probably go into the repertory of all "folk" singers. The album notes say that Pete Seeger is there in the background with vocal and banjo. Almost certainly it will go into his next concert, and there's no reason why Joan Baez, Jim Post, Rosalie Sorels and even Malvina Reynolds should't adapt it to their styles.

The lyrics are Goodman's, of course. (So are most of the others on both sides.)

"...there's only one thing I'd like to know:
where did the 20th century go?
I swear it was here just a minute ago,
all over this world.
Does anyone remember the Great Depression
I read all about it in True Confessions.



Steve Goodman, singer-songwriter

*Sorry I was late for the recording sessions
but somebody put me on hold.
Has anyone seen my linoleum floors
petroleum jelly and two World Wars;
They got stuck in the revolving doors,
all over this world...
The Judgement Day is getting nearer,
there it is in the rearview mirror.
If you'd duck down, I could see a little clearer
all over this world...*

—J.S.

STICK TO ME

Graham Parker and the Rumour
(Mercury Records)

At the risk of drowning my credibility in a torrent of superlatives, I must report that England's Graham Parker is the most dynamic singer in the world today.

From Parker's first words on the first song of the album, you can tell you're listening to something exceptional. His singing is forceful and intense; the closest thing to it was Van Morrison at his peak. Although the lead instrument in the band is clearly Parker's voice, in *The Rumour* he has a very tight back-up group, one that released its own fine album (*Max*) earlier this year. They complement each other perfectly and produce a sound that is nearly overpowering.

Parker's songs convey what critic Robert Christgau has called a "pissed-off working class intelligence." From up-tempo rockers like "The New York Shuffle," "Soul on Ice," and the title cut, to the witty reggae-based "Problem Child," to "Watch the Moon Come Down," (a Dylanesque portrait of working class life), Parker is always convincing. "Thunder and Rain," a song of vivid imagery and incredible power, is probably the most moving

rock song I've heard this year.

The son of a lorry driver and a waitress, Graham Parker worked as a gas station attendant and in other such jobs before starting out as a solo performer in folk clubs. In the mid-'70s he got together with The Rumour, a group of musicians who were veterans of the British rhythm and blues revival known as "pub rock" (because it marked a return to small clubs from large rock halls).

Their first two albums *Howlin Wind* and *Heat Treatment*, were also superlative, but despite praise from critics, neither album sold very well. *Stick to Me* should have greater commercial success. One can't say that it's that much better than the previous albums—how can you improve too much on something that's already great?—but it has appeared at a more auspicious time.

We are in the early stages of a revival of interest in "real" rock-'n'-roll. This can be seen in such disparate recent examples as the return to basics on the new Stones live album, the success of new groups like Mink DeVille and old troupers like Bob Seger. Even the wildly different styles lumped together as "punk rock" reflect a desire to get away from frills and musical pretentiousness (though new wave music has plenty of its own posturing and foulness). This doesn't mean that either laid-back L.A. rock or heavy metal music are losing their marketability, but it does suggest that a cleaner and more intense sound is re-emerging.

Graham Parker and The Rumour represent the best of this trend. If there's any justice in the world, *Stick to Me* will be one of the biggest hits of the year, and Parker will have his picture on the cover of *People*.

—Bruce Dancis

Bruce Dancis writes regularly for *IN THESE TIMES* on rock and reggae music.

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Ed Sadlowski



NEXT WEEK IN THESE TIMES

Anniversary Issue

Whither America: with Dan Marshall on labor, Derek Shearer on insurgent politics, Nelly Scott on energy, David Moberg on alternative technology, Manning Marable

on black politics, Barbara Ehrenreich on the women's movement, John Judis on Carter 1984. Also: Diana Johnstone on Europe and Stephen Talbot on southern Africa.

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Books

WORK, CULTURE AND SOCIETY IN INDUSTRIALIZING AMERICA

By Herbert G. Gutman
Vintage Books, 1977, \$3.95

When I read E.P. Thompson's *The Making of the English Working Class* several years ago, I was thrilled by its subtle and sensitive probings of ordinary people's daily lives. Out of bed, off to work, home to dinner, back to bed—the dull, outward appearance of working people's lives opened into a rich tapestry of struggles, both inner and outer. Little struggles in the lives of individuals and groups, most of them played out on a small stage seemingly bypassed by history—struggles that created a class which lost most of its show-downs, but in the end helped to shape the terms of modern society, almost entirely for the better.

Thompson respected none of the boundaries in the academic division of labor, especially the great divide between the humanities and the social sciences. He shaped his themes around quotations from William Blake, probing census data and church records for whatever light they might shed on the dailliness of life within a great historical movement. He wrote with style, concerned with achieving the right emotional effect on his reader as much as he wanted to argue a certain historical case.

Thompson's *Making* is not quite *War and Peace*, but it is a work of art which could only have been written in our time—an epic with footnotes.

Herbert Gutman is an American labor historian who aspires to do for us what Thompson did for the English. His *Work, Culture and Society in Industrializing America* is a collection of essays that aims "to explain the beliefs and behavior of American working people in the several decades that saw this nation transformed into a powerful industrial capitalist society"—the period from 1843 to 1893.

Gutman is studying what Raymond Williams calls "an oppositional culture," residing within and opposing the hegemony of the dominant one. Given the state of our ignorance about the lives of working people, a great deal of Gutman's effort must go simply to show that such an oppositional culture existed.

He can only scratch the surface of understanding what it consisted of and how it changed and developed. But he shows convincingly that while in this "nation of nations" many subcultures existed within the working class, there was also a potentially unifying culture there, which appeared just often enough during the industrialization of the U.S. to scare the daylights out of its ruling class.

That is to say, it appeared just often enough to win for the working class an indirect but significant role in shaping its own destiny and in establishing the social and political space in which subsequent generations could combat the rapacity and dehumanizing force of the advancing capitalist colossus.

It is unfair, but inevitable, that Gutman should be compared with Thompson, although *Work, Culture and Society* is a modest collection of essays, not a huge historical pageant like the *Making of the English Working Class*.

Whether, as *The Chronicle of Higher Education* claims, "Gutman has single-handedly helped to redirect the study of American social history," I am not qualified to judge. But he has drawn several vibrant sketches of episodes in 19th century working class life that have the texture and authenticity of good literature.

Also, *Work* has several advantages over Thompson for Americans.

Its stage is not Manchester or West Riding, but western Pennsylvania, southeastern Ohio and Paterson, New Jersey. Its main characters are not thorough Englishmen but unAmerican Americans like Joseph P. McDonnell, an Irish immigrant socialist who edited a labor newspaper in Paterson and Richard L. Davis, a black coal miner who was a founding organizer of the United Mine Workers in Ohio's Hocking Valley.

This is home, and we feel its proximity in a way that we cannot feel Thompson's England. It is also, to my taste, better writing than Thompson's.

Labor history is now a thoroughly respectable academic discipline in the U.S. The history of trade unions and the great strikes has been written and rewritten. Now it's time to understand the individuals and groups who made it all happen, their fears and aspirations, their beliefs and habits

of thought. There are many surprises in Gutman's essays, and they change our perception of 19th century America.

Because so much of our better fiction is hothouse wordplay and so much of our popular culture is based on stereotype, we should value a book like this not so much for its scientific and historical contributions as for its capacity to entertain us with a human spectacle that is complex and subtle, inspiring and real.

—Jack Metzgar

Jack Metzgar is a free-lance writer in Chicago.

THE COLD CASH WAR

By Robert Asprin
St. Martin's Press, \$7.95

A science-fiction novel that seems to combine the argument of Galbraith's *The New Industrial State* with knowledge gained by the author's ten years of employment in a multinational corporation, *The Cold Cash War* offers a thought-provoking scenario on a world caught up in fire-fights between warring internationals.

Extrapolating on the contemporary practice of industrial espionage, Asprin depicts a capitalist West not far in the future in which three major corporations—communications, oil, and fishing concerns—battle on several continents with mock-warriors in protective "kill-suits." When the companies turn with growing frequency to actual weapons and artillery, the U.S. government finds itself unable to keep the peace. The "C-" or Communist Block seems to stand idly by, watching.

Intriguing as an idea, this first novel is somewhat thin with respect to character. The actors on whom Asprin pegs his thesis demonstrate little life of their own before dying for dear old corporate interests.

The Cold Cash War seems more suitable for an economics class than for late-night entertainment.

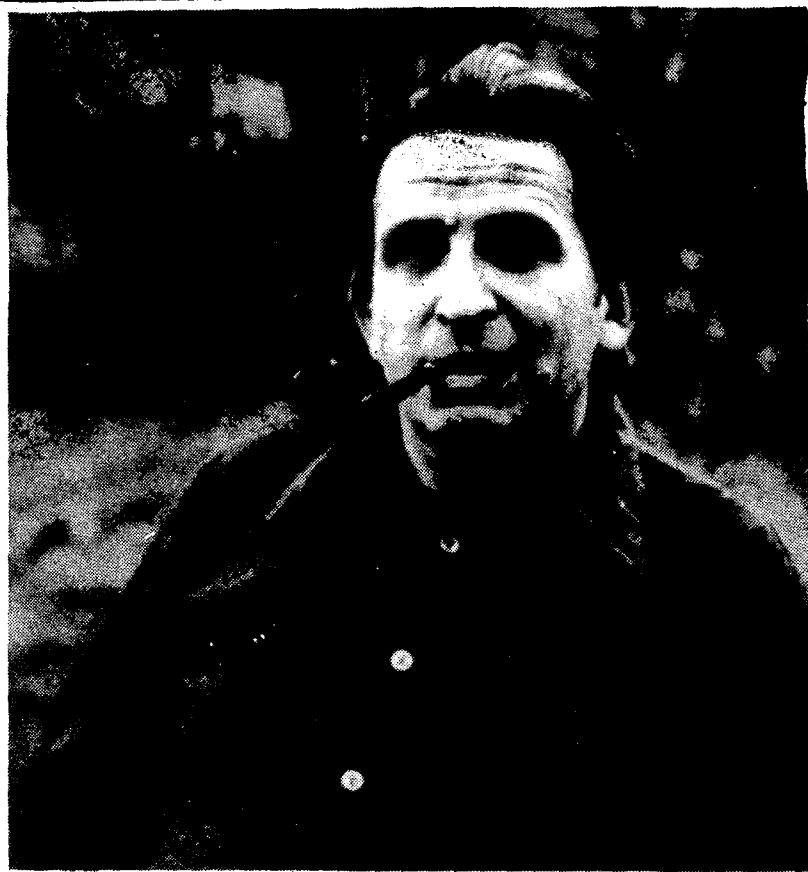
—Alan Chuse

Alan Chuse reviews books regularly for IN THESE TIMES.

UNION DUES

By John Sayles
Little Brown, Boston, 1977

Surprisingly few novels so far published deal with the radical



Herbert Gutman, labor historian

movements of the 1960s. Perhaps '60s activists are just that—activists, not given to reflection on the meaning of their experience. Or perhaps they have not yet had time to evaluate and analyze the events of those years.

We should, therefore, be glad to welcome *Union Dues* by John Sayles, which deals with a working class father and son caught up in the struggles of the tumultuous '60s.

Hunter McNabb is a widowed coal miner who comes to Boston looking for his son Hobie, who has run away from home. There he finds, instead, his older son, a Vietnam war veteran completely disoriented by the violence he has participated in.

Unable to communicate with this son and having lost his money, Hunter looks for a job, meets a woman and builds a new life for himself. Hobie, meanwhile, drifts into a radical collective, meets various girls and messes up his life as the collective moves toward unsuccessful adventurism.

There are the obvious themes of alienation of labor, disaffection of youth, the loss of innocence. But Sayles is also concerned with asking why the movements of the '60s failed to change society. His answer is that they did not communicate with the working class, either black or white.

Despite pronouncements of the need for a "worker-student alliance" and "industrialization of cadres," radicals never really understood the Irish policemen

and Italian meat packers, the miners and laborers who fill Sayles' pages. Forced by the crushing realism of their lives to compromise with the system, these workers see people with a positive social program as foolish and irrelevant. Nothing in their lives, they feel, can be changed so simply.

Does Sayles share this view? Or does he believe that a successful, radical working class movement is possible? The implications of *Union Dues* are not hopeful.

The book opens with Yablonski's campaign and ends with his death, and this framework is no accident.

Neither is the characterization of Hunter and Hobie as passive, uncommitted individuals to whom things happen. Despite their separate decisions to move north, to change their lives, they are both acted upon by events, unable to shape or to understand their fate.

The uncompromising naturalism of Sayles' book is depressing, and it doesn't tell the whole story. His evaluation of the '60s is, in my view, justified, but his apparent pessimism writes off the potential radicalism of a large sector of American society.

Union Dues is, however, an important book for radicals to read and consider. Also, it's the only recent novel I've read where the political discussions sound real.

—Judy Barton

Judy Barton is a free-lance writer in Wisconsin.

CLASSIFIED

ALBANY ITT will sponsor a forum on "The Cold War at Home" with Tim Riley, prof. of English, SUNYA, and Larry Wittner, prof. of history, SUNYA, author of "Cold War America." Free; refreshments will be served. Friends' Meeting House, 727 Madison Ave., Wed., Nov. 16, 8 pm.

SEABROOK ANTI-NUKE documentary—"THE LAST RESORT." Free showing by War Resisters League. Wednesday, Nov. 16, 7:30 pm, at Dole Branch Library, 255 Augusta, Oak Park, Ill.

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CONFERENCE ON THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF HIGHER EDUCATION (Nov. 11-12 at N.Y.U.). Keynote speakers Samuel Bowles, U. Mass. Fri., 8 pm, Schimmel Aud., Tisch Bldg., 40 W. 4th St.—Panels and Workshops on the theory, history and politics of higher education with Bowles, Ira Shor (CUNY), David Barkin (Smith Col.), Joel Spring (U. Cincinnati), Sherry Gorklick (CUNY), Michael Brown (CUNY), Mary Feldbloom (Dist. 65), Lee Johnson (Coalition of Black Trade Unions), and others (Fri., 3-6 pm; Sat. 9:30-12 am and 2-6 pm. For further info, write Center for Marxist Studies, N.Y.U., Wash. Square NY, NY 10003.

SOCIALISM IN THE U.S.? The Union for Radical Political Economics (URPE) and the Wisconsin Student Association are co-sponsors of a Midwest regional political economics conference Friday, Nov. 11 through Sunday, Nov. 13 on the theme "Socialism in the U.S.?" Beginning Friday evening and continuing until Sunday afternoon a series of panels, workshops, and presentations will be offered on a range of current social problems and issues in progressive and socialist political organizing. The entire conference will take place in the Social Science Bldg. and Bascom Hall at the University of Wisconsin, Madison. For further information call E.G. Nadeau or write him c/o Dept. of Sociology, 1180 Observatory Dr., Madison Wisc. 53706.

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FILM



Bobby (Al Pacino) loves Lillian (Marthe Keller).

Listless love story in lush landscape

BOBBY DEERFIELD

Screenplay by Alvin Sargent
Produced and directed by Sydney Pollack
Starring Al Pacino and Marthe Keller
Columbia-Warner, Rated PC

The fatally ill Fatal Female has always been a popular theme in film. Greta Garbo had her TB in *Camille* and Bette Davis had her brain tumor in *Dark Victory* and Ali McGraw had her leukemia in you-know-what. So this year we've got Marthe Keller in *Bobby Deerfield*.

Al Pacino is in it too, but there's nothing wrong with him except a terminal case of good looks. (His face alone takes up about half the movie.)

Pacino plays a famous car racer who hasn't smiled in dec-

ades until he meets the "uninhibited" Lillian (Keller), a patient in a classy Italian sanatorium who everybody except Bobby knows is on the road to Box City. She's supposedly not interested in him, even though she pesters him every minute and burns a ride out of town when he leaves.

She then proceeds to win over his heart and rekindle his interest in life with her wild and unpredictable ways.

There is something annoyingly caluclated about her spontaneity, even though we understand that she is trying to cram her last days full of fun and surprises. Her motivation is rich-girl selfishness that demands that she be amused. When Bobby offers her love and loyalty, she is afraid that he will bore her. This callous-

ness drives him temporarily back into the arms of his old girl friend, who offers him love and loyalty, but isn't nearly as much fun as Lillian.

Bobby cracks up in a car race and learns that his paramour's days are numbered, all in the same afternoon. From then on things degenerate into a European version of *Love Story*, with Lillian dying gracefully in the beautiful Italian countryside. (There are almost as many shots of lush locations as of Pacino!)

Director Sydney Pollack, who is usually competent and at times excellent (*They Shoot Horses, Don't They?*) does a patchy job with *Bobby Deerfield*, leaning heavily on the abundance of travelogue-type visuals and doting close-ups, apparently not forceful

enough to shake Pacino and Keller out of their manneristic ruts.

Alvin Sargent, who is capable of better things (*Julia*), wrote a screenplay that vacillates between the fairly witty and just plain awful. Keller and Pacino are both good actors, but from the idiocy of their initial conversations, littered with pseudo-profundities and pop-psych, it's a wonder they don't end up avoiding each other like the plague (These exchanges are accompanied by a musical score that sounds like it was lifted from a Rock Hudson-Doris Day flick.)

Things pick up around the middle of the movie when the characters are given some good lines and a chance to act. But at 124 minutes the film is too long, a fault that could easily have been

remedied by cutting out half of the last scenes, e.g. Al and Marthe lazing in a sailboat; Al and Marthe strolling over a bridge through the park, everything but, thank God, walking on the beach at sunset.

A love story is interesting only if the third parties (we, the audience) have some feeling for the principals. *Bobby Deerfield* starts out with a plus in that direction, as Keller and Pacino are both attractive, appealing performers. But the characters are not developed enough, or perhaps there isn't any more there to develop. Either way, with a few moments of exception, it turns out to be one big, albeit beautiful, bore.

—P. Hertel
P. Hertel reviews films regularly for IN THESE TIMES.

Valentino, an indictment of idolatry

Russell is attacking one of the main props of the powerful entertainment industry—the image of a star.

VALENTINO

Directed by Ken Russell
Written by Ken Russell and Mardik Martin
Starring Rudolf Nureyev
United Artists, Rated R

Ken Russell has always been a director of dangerous vision, flooding the screen with images and stories so outrageous that he has, at various stages of his career, incurred the wrath of film and art critics, music lovers and

the Catholic church (for *The Devils*).

In the life of Rudolph Valentino, Russell has at last found the inspiration for a vision that combines the outrageous with a reality that can contain it—Hollywood and the United States in the 1920s.

Rudolph Valentino was and remains a ludicrous legend. He lived a screen-publicist-created life in the fantastic at the height of the industry's power and decadence. Russell takes some of the facts, most of the fancy, embellishes them with his own sense of history and thrusts them upon the audience in his interpretation of the death of a misunderstood man.

Tragedy partly fouled by farce, *Valentino* is an indictment of an age.

Russell's casting of the hero is audacious. By showing Valentino's early career as that of a ballroom dancer, the director

places Rudolf Nureyev into a context that shimmers with the great dancer's own significance.

Whom are we watching—the embodiment of a star or a star in his own right?

Nureyev gives an explosive performance, creating a character with a luminosity and presence not matched since Fred Astaire. Nureyev's *persona* is magnificent, yet indefinable, and the screen character is affected by it. The audience is caught in a brilliantly contrived complex of illusions.

Comparisons to *Citizen Kane* are apt. In both cases death of the central character serves as a frame for the story. While Valentino lies in state in a New York funeral home, surrounded by the press, enemies, lovers, friends and the police, the film moves through a series of remembrances. None of them fills in the details of the star's real life. We participate in a chronology of events and actions,

full of fantastic details that never tell us much about the man.

Instead Russell explores the hysteria created around him by the age, the sexual and ritual power games played by an elite class of image manipulators, which capture the players as well as the audience.

Valentino cannot understand or defend his symbolic worth. He finally succumbs to it. His death triggers mania in those who created the image as well as those who accepted it; those who rush for the final cash-in as well as those who cannot bear the loss of something they have created and worshipped; the mob crashing through the funeral parlor windows to get a last glimpse of the dead man included those who made him a star and those who want a final piece of the action.

Russell presents this climax and the background of overblown opulence in terms that

force the contemporary viewer to ask, did and can Americans behave like that? Elvis Presley's death answers the questions; lends credence to *Valentino* and the proposition that people worship stars as gods and want to possess them in any way they can.

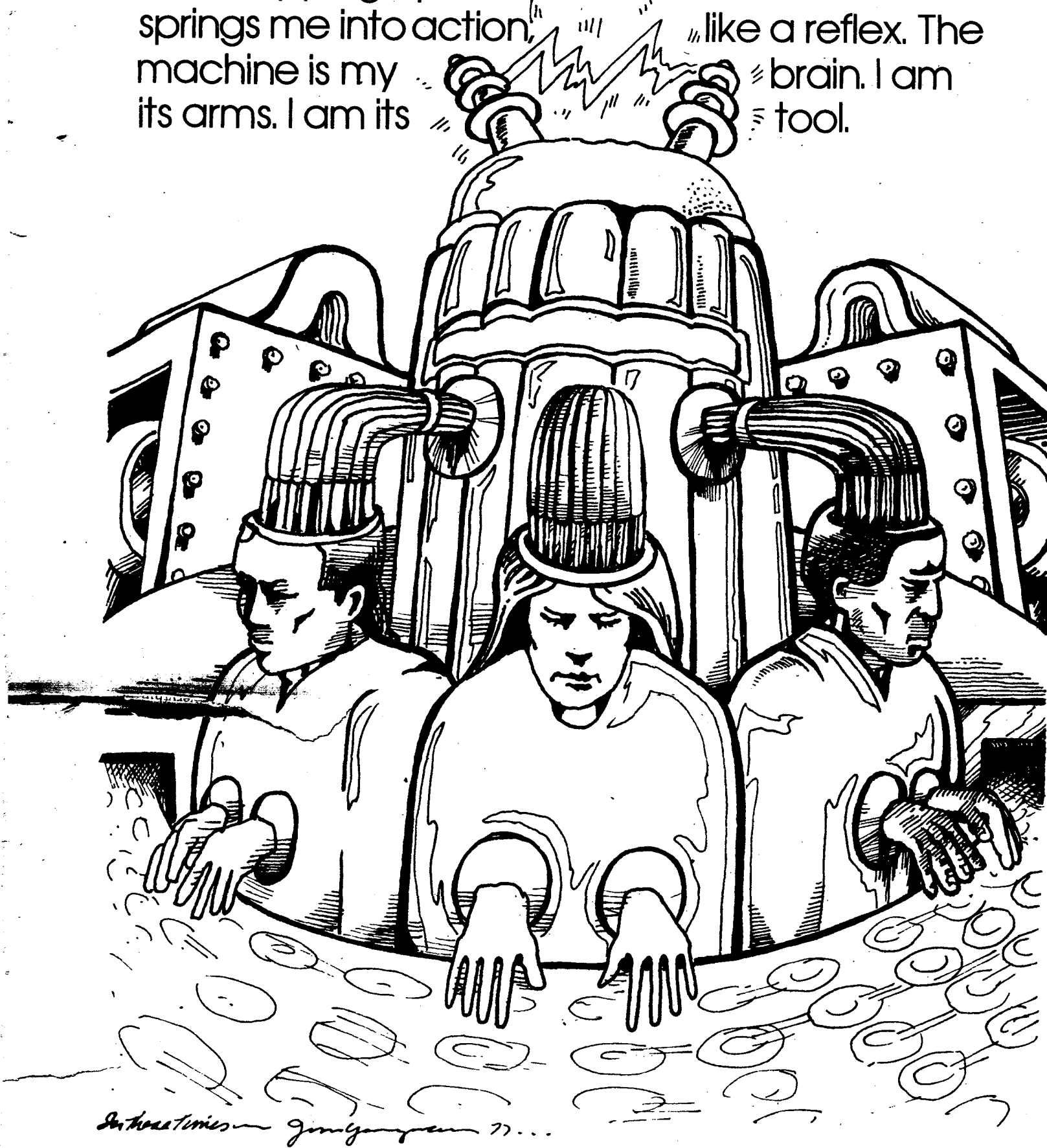
The film's strengths are a fine scenario, beautiful set and costume design and a fine supporting cast (Leslie Caron, Michelle Phillips, Huntz Hall and Seymour Cassell). Together these elements fabricate a dream world too real for comfort. For in the last analysis, *Valentino* is a criticism of film-going.

If you have ever been touched by star-worship, you may be shaken by this film. In it Russell is attacking one of the main props of the powerful entertainment industry.

—Joe Heumann
Joe Heumann reviews regularly for IN THESE TIMES.

\$2.30 for the body nothing for the soul

The snapping open and shut of the machine springs me into action, like a reflex. The machine is my brain. I am its arms. I am its tool.



“You are worth exactly one dollar and twenty-five cents!” gloats the statistic-monger. “The chemicals in your body aren’t worth more than a buck and a quarter.”

“Two thirty an hour,” says my boss, equally pleased.

I do unskilled factory work for Manpower to cover my room and board. The money itself doesn’t affront me, as if I had gotten a low bid at the auction block. But what does affront me is the suggestion that the money could in any way compensate me for myself, my body, my life, my time.

Here’s my machine, a plastic injection molder. It’s not a tool, since it is in no way an extension of me or my skills. It isn’t a co-worker, since there is no communication between me and it.

No, when the mold snaps open and shut, and the plastic parts drop into the tray below, I spring into action: scoop up the parts, throw away the plastic connecting “gate,” put four parts on the cooling

bars, take four other parts off and smooth their edges with a metal file. One edge has the tiny letters AMP impressed on it, about one millimeter high. I am not to smooth off the letters AMP.

The snapping open and shut of that mold is what springs me into action, like a reflex. The machine is, in a sense, my brain. I am its arms. I am its tool.

So, my function completed; it takes a few seconds before the mold snaps open again. During those few seconds, my mind is free. It’s about long enough for three-quarters of a Hail Mary.

But trying to pray while watching for the mold to open, is like trying to make love while waiting for a bus. It lacks a certain Presence.

Besides, the clamor of the factory crowds into your skull, forcing out any half-formed thoughts. Pallets crash to the floor and percussions of metal on metal punctuate the constant gravelly roar of scraps being run through the plastic grinders.

There are buzzers, gongs and bells whose significance is unknown to me.

Maybe that was a warning whistle. I vaguely notice that the two fire doors are blocked by heavy boxes. It’s possible that there’s a fire in the plant, or that the girl next to me is possessed by the Devil. Nobody ever told me what the bells and whistles are for.

At any rate, the whole mental process results in miscarriage: it’s impossible to carry a thought to term.

My machine has detailed instruction plates bolted to its side, under the words DANGER and CAUTION and 480 VOLTS. I have never read the instructions. It only took the foreman 30 seconds to explain to me about the four parts, the cooling bar, the metal file—and leave.

The control panel—it’s on “semi-aut.”—has a bank of red, yellow and white lights. I wonder what that red one is on for. I don’t know.

I don’t know what the parts are, or where they’re going. I wonder if the part’s name is AMP. Maybe that’s the company we’re making it for. Or maybe it’s short for “ampere,” which I vaguely remember is a measure of electricity, like a volt.

480 volts. I am not to smooth off the letters AMP.

I can’t pray, since prayer is the activity of a thinking creature and I can’t think. But the problem remains: how to occupy that three-quarters-of-a-Hail-Mary’s worth of time between the completion of my little function and the beginning of the next cycle?

Standing on this concrete makes my legs stiff. I should jog in place!

But the foreman makes it clear that my jogging in place is—let us put it delicately—not appreciated. “I suggest you just stick with your work!”

He has a wonderful resonant voice: sinus passages like Carnegie Hall.

So, I try isometrics, I grasp my right hand with my left and pull. (The mold opens and closes and I do my thing.) Then I put my palms together and push. Or I stand on my right foot for one mold cycle, and left for the next. This is much better.

As for the other women at the machines, I notice that none of them seem to do isometric exercises. How many of them have worked here for 15 or 20 years, taking long drags on their cigarettes and staring until the machine triggers them again?

I wonder vaguely, “Is this possibly a bomb factory?” The box I’m tossing parts into is printed with oriental writing. Are these parts going to Japan? Taiwan? Korea? How vaguely disquieting if I, Pollypure Pacifist, were making parts for a B-1!

“WHOO-EEeee!” hoots Dorothy on my right. “WHOO-EEee, JEEE-zus!” Break time.

Sitting in the lunch room, I see Mrs. Bisio at the vending machine with its spray-on barbecue-flavor potato chips, Pepsi, Twinkies and other wholly-owned subsidiaries of ITT, XYZ, FBI and AMP.

The luncheon conversation revolves around recipes and pregnancies today. Dorothy tells a story concerning her husband and the bedsprings. It is howlingly funny.

The curse of this work is not its monotony. I’ve spent a day making furrows with a hoe and planting corn—but at least I could joke with Tommy Jean and his father, Mr. Woodard. “Gal, you work like a mule!” said Woodard—but I was not reduced to an animal: I was elevated to a friend and an object of affection.

And God knows that folding 5,000 leaflets, chopping infinite and ever-lasting vegetables for the Soup Kitchen, or even walking a picket line are not stimulating craftsmanship or skilled labor, but there is the possibility for either true sociability (singing and talking) or quiet and true solitude.

Assembly-line work has neither sociability nor solitude, neither body-gratifying activity nor imagination.

E.F. Schumacher says that if a man-made system proved to destroy the initiative and rot the brains of millions of birds, humanitarians of every sort would form Wildlife Defense Leagues to save the poor creatures. But if the system is destroying the initiative and rotting the brains of millions of workers, people “sigh and nod—and move on.”

What Schumacher advocates is not a retreat into primitivism, but new, human-scale producing methods, “technology with a human face,” to replace the giantism of industry that reduces the human being into a spiritual dwarf.

But industry genuflects to profit only—that modern-day pillar of cloud by day and pillar of fire by night—and has no veneration for the presence of the godhead in the soul of the worker. This presence can be rubbed out, scraped away, erased by the daily attrition. It is of less consequence than the letters AMP.

Meanwhile, I do as little factory work as I can get by with. But such voluntary poverty is the luxury of a single person enconced comfortably in a supportive religious community.

As for Dorothy and Mrs. Bisio, they will probably go on for deadening weeks, months and years: getting \$2.30 for their bodies, and nothing for the souls.

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